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Erratum.

Page 135, line 6,

for "80·3 pence" read "8·03 pence."

CHAPTER V.

THE PROTECTION OF SOCIETY.

The functions of government which relate to law, including a judicial system and certain attendant agencies, have now been described. Next in order come those duties of the State which are connected with the defence of the community against external attack, internal revolt and individual crime. Distinct as these three functions are, the same agency may be, and as a matter of convenience often is, employed for two or even all of them.

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V.

The functions of
defence, sup-
pression of
revolt and police
distinguished.

For geographical reasons it would be difficult for an enemy to invade South Africa by land, but its coasts and harbours are at the mercy of any fleet which has obtained command of the sea. At present the only protection to which this country can look against attack by sea is afforded by the Imperial navy. This remark applies to the inland colonies as fully as to the coast colonies. The capture of Cape Town or Durban by a foreign fleet would affect Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bulawayo as much as Maritzburg and Kimberley, the last of which though situated in a coast colony is further from the sea than any town south of the Limpopo. But while all the colonies are equally interested in the

Defence.



problem of naval defence it cannot be said that they all show their interest in a practical manner. Only the coast colonies contribute to the cost of their protection. The Cape Colony makes an annual grant of £50,000 and Natal a grant of £35,000 towards the expense of maintaining the British Navy, while each supports a small force of naval volunteers. This means that the taxpayers of Kimberley and Maritzburg contribute, while those of Johannesburg do not.

Suppression of
revolt. Imperial
expenditure on
maintenance of
order.

A large garrison of regular troops is also maintained in South Africa, which cost the taxpayers of the United Kingdom about £2,500,000 during the last financial year. To this figure should be added the interest on a capital sum of £6,500,000 spent upon cantonments and other establishments. The British garrison is still stationed in South Africa, partly because command of the southern portion of this continent is essential to the strategic defence of other portions of the Empire, especially India and Australia, but still more in order to preserve order amongst the native peoples, not only in the protectorates directly subject to Imperial rule, but generally throughout South Africa. In the course of the last few years it has on several occasions been a question whether Imperial troops should not be called into action to quell a native rising, and their employment on such duty has been urged in the public press. Such a proposal implies no reflection upon the readiness of the colonial population to guard their own

existence against the attacks of savagery. It may be readily admitted that in colonies where the proportion of whites to natives is large, governments are strong enough to suppress local risings amongst the native population. But in colonies where the white community is relatively small (and we have seen in statement No. I. how enormous the numerical disparity sometimes is) no prudent statesman would assume as a matter of course that the local government is strong enough to maintain order with its own unaided resources.

This doubt found definite expression in January, 1907, when a conference of the four colonies and Rhodesia was called at Johannesburg, to consider a scheme under which all these governments should co-operate to suppress insurrection in any one of their territories. For this purpose an agreement was drafted, but it has not as yet been adopted by any of the parties to the discussion. Under its terms any government which found itself in serious difficulties with its natives was to be entitled to call upon all the other governments to furnish a certain number of trained men. The Cape Colony would be required to supply 1,500, the Transvaal 1,000, the Orange River Colony 500, Natal 500, and Southern Rhodesia 200, making a total of 3,700 men. The whole cost was to be paid by the colony summoning the levy, which would have the supreme command of the united forces. But no colony was to require the assistance of

Inter-Colonial
conference on
defence, 1907.

the others, until it had first called out three-fourths of its own volunteer or militia forces. The framers of this simple and practical plan, however, found themselves faced with the inevitable legal problem. It was doubtful whether the troops of one colony would be bound by its laws for the purposes of discipline when serving in the territory of another, and it was proposed that legislation should be passed in each of the colonies to meet the difficulty.

Maintenance of
order in each
colony of in-
terest to all
South Africa.

The preparation of such an agreement shows how strongly every colony feels that the suppression of revolt within the boundaries of any of its neighbours is of vital concern to it. An uprising in the Transkei, for instance, would certainly imperil Natal more than the Western Province of the Cape. Hitherto we have spoken only of the self-governing colonies, but a factor which in part accounts for the presence of Imperial troops and certainly increases the danger to the white communities is the presence of large native populations living in protectorates under the Imperial Government. There is no need to take an alarmist view. The most competent judges of the existing situation would regard it as perfectly secure, if there existed a small but highly trained and mobile force, which one central authority in South Africa could immediately launch at any centre of disorder, wherever situated. But no one can shut his eyes to the waste of strength besides the positive danger which the present arrangement

entails. The chief storm centres which may affect the peace and welfare of the whole of South Africa are subject to the control of separate governments, one of which has its seat 6,000 miles from the scene of action, and none of which is in a position to take the prompt and effective action which possible contingencies might demand.

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As it is, the presence of regular troops has by no means relieved the colonial governments from the necessity of maintaining standing forces for defensive purposes in the form of militia and volunteers or armed constabulary. And finding themselves compelled to do so they naturally employ some of these forces during times of peace to do the work of ordinary police in the country districts and even in towns; in other words, to exact obedience to the law from individual members of the community. Such forces, in fact, serve either in a military or in a police capacity as required. The Cape Colony, however, maintains for the larger towns separate forces, which are not liable for military service. In Durban the municipality employs its own police. On the Rand and in Pretoria also there are at present special town police, but they are liable for military service and serve under government, and not under municipal control. It is probable that they will be fused into one body with the district police of the Transvaal. Detailed statements showing the regular, militia, volunteer and police forces in each colony are set out in the appendix in tabular form.

South African
forces and
police.

Statement No.
VII.

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V.

Punishment.

The police are only the primary instruments employed in the preservation of society from internal disorder. The law is actually enforced by inflicting punishment upon persons convicted of its violation. Such punishment takes the form either of fine, loss of status, imprisonment with or without hard labour, flogging or death: and all of these means require the provision of a certain machinery. Even the smaller towns throughout South Africa are provided with lock-ups where prisoners are confined on arrest until their case can be dealt with by the courts. In the larger towns where magistrates reside there are gaols where offenders under short sentences are confined. There are also in each colony central convict establishments, such as that at the breakwater at Cape Town, where long sentence prisoners serve their term.

Juvenile offenders.

Contact with hardened reprobates in a gaol often converts first offenders into habitual criminals, and it is the aim of all modern States to check this mischief as far as possible. But classification and segregation are possible only in larger prisons than most colonies can afford to establish for themselves alone, and there is no doubt that the penal system would be improved by a process of concentrating old offenders in a few large and highly-organised institutions. Reformatories for boys also depend for success largely on proper classification and segregation. The only reformatory which at present exists in South Africa is the one established by the

bequest of Sir William Porter at Tokai in the Cape Colony. The other governments have hitherto made no provision of the kind, but have contented themselves with sending their juvenile offenders to Tokai as far as the Cape government has been able to receive them. Unfortunately Tokai cannot house all the juvenile offenders in South Africa, and boys in other colonies are often sent to prison as ordinary criminals; with the result that they emerge with the reputations of gaol-birds and practise crime as their only means of subsistence for the rest of their lives. Under present arrangements there is small hope of removing this blot from the penal system of South Africa. The boy offenders of each state are so few that each government feels it too costly a business to make proper provision for them. But with union there need be no difficulty. If all juvenile offenders were dealt with by a central government it would be possible to divide them into classes so as to provide each case with the special treatment which it requires and to maintain and provide proper accommodation for them all.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMPOSITION OF SOCIETY.

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VI.

Unlike Euro-
pean States
which are homo-
geneous,

In the great countries of Europe the various races, Celtic, Teutonic or Latin, are sufficiently akin to one another to be capable of living side by side under the same institutions. When two or more are thrown together in one country they easily combine, and their progeny are as good as, or even better than, either of the parent stocks. Generally speaking, the population of a European country is all of a piece, and so therefore is the State, because the unity of the one is reproduced in the other. The same is true of some of the large countries of Asia, such as China and Japan.

South Africa is
divided into two
widely different
societies,

The conditions of both these continents are in striking contrast to those of South Africa, where two societies are established side by side, the smaller drawn from the most advanced races and the larger from the most backward ones in the scale of human development. There is no important family of men more widely separated in ideas and manners from the European than the negro race. Indeed, so wide is the cleft between the two peoples that their mixture, instead of being encouraged, is generally condemned. At the outset, therefore, South African governments

are called upon to deal with at least two separate societies, whose ideas, aims and interests are kept apart from each other by a wide hereditary gulf. They have to admit the existence of two laws, and to provide in many cases a two-fold judicial, administrative and political system. These separate societies, living in the same country, are always in contact and yet, as will appear hereafter, it is difficult for them to touch without inflicting some injury on one another.

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VI.



In the early days of white settlement slavery was regarded as the proper status for the lower race. This solution frankly assumed that the native existed, not for his own sake, but for that of the European. Slavery has long been rejected as a possible basis for civilised society, and it is difficult to conceive how it could exist under modern conditions without demoralising the dominant race. Nevertheless, the notion that the interests of European society are absolutely paramount and exclusive is by no means extinct. Sometimes it takes the fantastic shape that the problem will be solved in the end only by the elimination of the native, whether by machine guns, bad brandy, or banishment to the low veld. Such opinions avoid a difficult road by a short cut over a precipice, and no responsible person entertains them for a moment. The governments of South Africa have frankly admitted their responsibility as trustees for both races, and remain faced with the problem of finding room in one household

and its government must consider the interests of both.

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VI.

To begin with,
the legal sys-
tems of the two
are in conflict.

for two occupants each with ways of life hardly compatible with those of the other.

To realise the difficulty of reconciling the two social systems we have only to notice what happens when they meet on common ground. In his own society the native had no conception of private property in land, and he is slow to assimilate the idea of it from the white. Before the Europeans came his tribe grazed its cattle on whatever land could be protected from the depredations of neighbouring tribes. But the first idea of a white settler when he entered the country was to mark out and to appropriate a farm for himself. The process is essential to white settlement, and at first it caused no inconvenience to the natives. Very soon, however, as more land was taken up, the native and his cattle were gradually pushed out. The stronger system of society encroached on the weaker, and took its place. Most of the Kaffir wars were the inevitable result of the conflict between the two. The historian may find much that is regrettable in this, as in other processes of evolution; but the white pioneers themselves can scarcely be condemned except on principles which carried to their logical conclusion would have reserved America, Australia and New Zealand to their aboriginal inhabitants.

So are their
moral systems.

As soon as his new country becomes settled the European expects to live with the measure of liberty to do wrong as

well as to do right, which his conception of freedom implies. But the degree of liberty which acts like a tonic on European society, becomes an intoxicant when administered to a race of children endowed with the passions of grown men; and thus the line which divides matters of conduct regulated by the State from those which are left to private conscience is, and must be, drawn for Europeans in one place and for the natives in another. For example, there exist over most parts of South Africa two separate sets of liquor laws operating side by side. While the closer restriction applied to the native benefits the lower race, it tends to deprave the poorer class of whites by generating a new and lucrative kind of crime. South African gaols are full of European prisoners convicted of selling liquor illegally to natives. But the difficulty of maintaining two different standards of legal restriction side by side may be even better understood by another example. A recent commission on the native question records the following statement by a native witness:—

“The Morality Act imposes severe imprisonment upon native men going with white women, who may also be penalised, but avoids the reverse, and they . . . frequently say . . . in reference to this law . . . ‘If your men with impunity go with our women, why may not we go with yours?’”

We have seen how South Africa, when it abandoned slavery, had no alternative but

So are their
economic sys-
tems. Caste
has succeeded

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VI.

slavery, and
operated to con-
fine rough la-
bour to the col-
oured races,

to admit two separate social systems. It is true that the great reform of 1834 purported to leave no distinction between the social and civil status of the two races. But it did not, and could not possibly, abolish the barriers of race which forbade the two to unite as one nation and society. As a matter of fact, the whole province of human activity was divided into two departments. To the higher was reserved every kind of work demanding the exercise of intelligence in any appreciable degree; and to the lower was assigned the labour which requires mere physical force. An industrial wall or partition was raised between the races. A native of exceptional parts, who aspires to become a clerk or a skilled artisan, is looked on as invading the white man's domain, and the white man who acquiesces in merely physical labour is thought to debase himself to the level of the native. How unstable such a position is we shall soon see. It is not too much to say that when civilised society abandoned the system of slavery for that of caste it left a quicksand to build its house on ground but one degree less treacherous; and already it finds the foundations beginning to sink once more. The caste theory takes no account of the fact that a certain proportion of whites are born without the capacity to hold their own in the sphere of skilled labour. In Europe or America such men can earn their living by rough manual toil, but the caste sys-

tem finds no appropriate place for them. South Africa presents the strange and ominous spectacle of a country urgently in need of population to fill it and yet rapidly breeding a race of paupers on its own soil.

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But the evil effects go further still. In the long run a system which forbids the white Africander to do unskilled work, operates to exclude him from the ranks of skilled labour also. In trying to set themselves above mere physical toil a great number of whites are throwing away their only chance of obtaining a footing in the industries of the country. Such labour is a commodity which every able-bodied man can offer, and the doors of higher employment will open to him in time if he has the natural capacity to enter; but if he begins by refusing to dispose of his labour at its economic value he finds most of the doors locked in his face, for physical labour is the school in which are learned the habits of industry and the rudiments of skill required by the trained craftsman. The result is that the majority of artisans required in South Africa have to be imported to South Africa from over sea. Most of the work that in Europe leads on to skilled employment is performed in South Africa by coloured hands; and thus the same custom that debarbs the lower-class European from rising is opening the door to his coloured competitor, who has begun in the humblest ranks of labour. The more intelligent of the coloured people are rising above the level of manual labour and

and virtually to
exclude the
Africander from
skilled labour as
well.

becoming skilled workmen, and in spite of the resistance of white society are tending to force their way across the line to a position superior to that of the poor whites. Gradually the truth begins to assert itself that the effects of a caste system are almost as pernicious as those of slavery, though the operation of the poison is more insidious and slow. No society which is not based on physical toil can long maintain its vigour, and one society cannot subsist for long upon the labour of another without developing the properties of a fungus.

Skilled labour
requires a sub-
structure of un-
skilled labour,

For skilled labour to find employment a sufficient force of rough labour must also be available. If an industry is too large for the employer of labour to do his own skilled work, he must employ skilled labourers, and under present conditions these will usually be white artisans. But in some industries the skilled men are practically the warrant officers directing the ranks of unskilled labour, who supply such physical force as cannot be furnished by mechanical power. In other industries they labour and do not direct; but their labour is of a kind which entirely depends on the collection or preparation of material by unskilled workers. It follows that without a supply of rough labour the industry cannot proceed nor can the white artisan obtain employment. The employer as a business man will select from the various classes of rough labour available that which promises to be the

cheapest. But if he turns to the poor whites accumulating on the soil, he finds them of little use for his purpose because, as we have seen, the customs of the country have destroyed their efficiency as labourers by relegating unskilled work to a lower race. The poor white has grown to believe that by accepting a wage substantially lower than that paid to skilled artisans, he will lose caste as a European, and he prefers what he imagines to be honourable indigence to degrading toil. It is only when coloured labourers are very scarce, and when a large number of white workmen are unemployed, that labour in South Africa has been offered to poor Europeans; and even then the offer has generally come from governments and public bodies, and has been made as a matter of policy rather than of business. So far it has needed the stress of prolonged and grinding poverty to induce white men in South Africa to accept the economic wages of unskilled labour.

Failing indigenous sources of supply, suppose the employer tries the alternative of importing white labour from abroad. He still cannot escape the influence of the caste custom. To begin with, any scheme for importing a force of white unskilled labour would have to face the opposition of the skilled workmen already in the country, who perceive that many of the new recruits will acquire skill and come into competition with themselves—the more readily as they will not be hindered by the custom of caste, which at

which owing to
caste prejudices
cannot be white.

present seeks to prohibit employers from offering work to coloured craftsmen. But even if this difficulty is overcome, there remains another. Shy immigrants, uncertain of their footing in a strange society, are peculiarly amenable to its traditions. In a few months they become infected with the prevalent ideas which render white men in this country unavailable for rough work. They soon expect to be treated, not as labourers, but as overseers, and to be paid as such. It is not a vague prophecy but a reasonable deduction from actual history to say that if a thousand Northumbrian pitmen were imported to work a South African coal mine the value of their labour would have greatly diminished in a twelvemonth. The practical outcome of the position is that South African employers are compelled to fall back upon the coloured labour of the country, and only such industries can be founded as are payable on this basis.

The alternative
is coloured la-
bour

Now in organising the native labour of the country employers are at once driven to adopt methods very different from those followed by employers of white unskilled labour in Europe. The European worker who hopes to obtain continuous employment must have a certain sense of responsibility. If he leaves one place to take another without notice, or if he neglects his work or runs away or drinks, he loses his character and no one will hire him. There are plenty of others to take his place, and he quickly sinks into poverty or

crime. The natural penalties of irresponsibility are so serious, that the relations between workman and master can be perfectly well left to the ordinary law of contract enforceable in the civil courts. Indeed, it is seldom necessary for the courts to intervene. What happens in practice is that the employer, having attracted his labour by the rate of pay which he offers, relies on keeping it by making the conditions of his service satisfactory; and having thus made sure of his supply of labour, he trusts to a certain faculty for handling men, either in himself or his managers, to obtain the value of the work for which he pays.

For the Kaffir, however, a low sense of responsibility involves no serious consequences. His ways of life are primitive, and he obtains food and shelter of a kind almost anywhere, and can always fall back on his kraal in the last resort. To the employer he is only one of a swarm, and, unlike the white man, he can easily sink his identity and escape becoming known and marked if he takes to bad habits. These characteristics of the native have led the State in many parts of South Africa to supervise closely the relations between the master and his coloured workmen. The native is provided by government with a pass, which not merely is a record of the contract between his master and himself, but also affords a basis for an elaborate system of registration, enabling his identity to be traced and his movements from one district to another.

the defects of
which the law
intervenes to
correct,

other to be followed. The arrangement is designed for the benefit of both parties, and officers are appointed by the Government to enforce the specific performance of the contract on employer and labourer alike. If the master neglects to feed, clothe, house or pay his servant in accordance with his contract, he is liable to a criminal as well as to a civil action. On the other hand, if the labourer neglects his work or refuses to obey orders he is dealt with as a criminal, and can be imprisoned. The pass also becomes a record of the native's character, and the pass office develops into an effective agency for the employment of natives. To this extent the system benefits the natives, in that it renders their labour more easy to obtain and to direct than that of any other class available in the country.

at the risk of
becoming op-
pressive.

At the same time it is no matter for surprise if the natives themselves fail to appreciate the advantages of the pass system. Any scheme of restriction involves a danger that the bonds may become too many and be drawn too tight, and this danger is the greater where a Government is eager to be thorough in its work. Any resident in South Africa could multiply instances where the system has worked badly, but one may be mentioned. An employer who proposed to move his establishment to another town, sent his clerk to the pass office in the town where he lived to obtain the necessary passes for his servants. The employer himself was a lawyer, but he

took the precaution to submit the passes to the office in the place to which he was moving, and to obtain its assurance that they were in order before instructing his servants to precede him to his new establishment. On arriving himself a few days later he found one of his servants in prison because another officer had construed the law differently from the officials who had been consulted. And yet the law which thus baffled the special care taken to ascertain and to observe it, was framed by a Government scrupulously jealous of native interests. So delicate a task it is to fit shoes for a people too primitive to show where they pinch.

Hitherto we have referred only to the indiffer-ent quality of native labour; but a matter of even greater concern to employers is the question of its quantity. To see what happens we may take a concrete case. Whenever a new process of agriculture has been successfully applied to the soil, or some great discovery of mineral wealth has been made, a period of activity sets in, and there is a great demand for skilled workmen of all kinds. But the white men born in the country who have no skill cannot respond to the demand, and to meet it craftsmen come from all parts of the world. All this time money is freely invested to equip the industry. But it usually happens that as soon as development has reached a certain point, the supply of unskilled labour, which is the basis of the whole undertaking, begins to fail. Then the

When industry outgrows local supplies of coloured labour, coloured immigration is demanded.

lack of coloured hands causes investors to go without profits and skilled labourers without wages; and everyone begins to realise that South-Africa is still an empty country, and cannot be developed without an influx of population from abroad. When this occurs all parties appeal to their Governments to address foreign or over-sea States, and to arrange with them for the wholesale recruitment and importation of coloured labour. In more than one instance Governments have acquiesced and have introduced coloured labour from abroad, subject to public supervision and sometimes aided by public funds. Incidentally the superstition which relegates rough manual labour to the coloured races is confirmed in the minds of the white people, and the system of caste becomes stronger than ever.

In time coloured labour invades the province of skilled labour.

The extreme case happens when a government is forced to go beyond the bounds of Africa itself and to introduce labour from Asia—the only other possible source of supply. As Asiatics are more intelligent and efficient than negroes they more readily acquire skill, and the number of whites required to supervise their labour diminishes. Moreover, the coloured man, though ranked and paid as an unskilled labourer, begins to do work formerly done by the white. On the other hand, the European artisan himself does less work, and finds it possible to content himself with a more general supervision, and to superintend a larger number of col-

oured labourers. It is true that the white man is still called the skilled worker and the coloured man the labourer, but names do not affect the practical effect upon the growth of population. So long as the coloured man fills the whole sphere of rough labour there is no space vacant into which white labourers of this class can be drawn. But the results are far from being merely negative; they mean, as we have seen, that the white man loses his monopoly of skilled labour. The coloured race which has been assisted by the State to occupy the whole basement of the industrial edifice begins to swarm into its upper storeys, and a certain proportion of the white population remains outside the building altogether. A position of great difficulty and instability is created, relief from which has yet to be found.

These same labour customs go far to account for the fact that the large sums spent in recent years on attempts to colonise South Africa with white men have not led to results of commensurate value. Most of the immigrants who colonise new countries have to earn their experience as well as their capital in the lower ranks of labour. In Canada the newcomer readily obtains employment as an agricultural labourer, and earns such wages as enable him to accumulate a small capital. At the same time he himself is learning how to farm, with the result that in a few years he has the money and experience to take up land and to start for himself. But

Attempts at land
settlement are
frustrated by
the same
causes.

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in South Africa, as we have seen, the lower ranks of labour are practically closed to the white man. He cannot therefore gain the knowledge of a new country by first-hand experience, and experience gained at second-hand generally plays him false. So it comes about that immigrant farmers often fail to make their operations pay, and the landowner often finds that the best way of deriving profit from the land is to farm it out to Kaffirs. In this way vast tracts in the Transvaal and Natal, which were originally divided into farms for white colonisation, are being brought under black settlement instead of white. A natural and valuable opportunity of establishing a permanent white population on the land is being thrown away.

The political
ideas of the two
societies are in
conflict.

We have seen how the differences between the races have led to difficulty in social and economic matters; but the problem of reconciling their political notions is just as serious. The native's political instincts are patriarchal. To him his tribe is one great family, and he looks to its chief for direction as a child looks to its father. Underlying his whole political system is the assumption that someone has been appointed by Providence to guide him. The white colonist, on the other hand, holds as his political creed that the government can only derive its authority from the governed themselves. He claims to choose his own advisers and directors, and he expects them to submit to laws made by legis-

lators whom he himself elects. Each legislator is chosen to voice the interests of the voters who elect him; and he can never escape the obligation to say and do that which will please the men whose support he enjoyed at the last election and hopes to enjoy at the next. The legislature of a white, self-governing community is thus constituted on the principle of a joint stock company rather than that of a household, and it acts on the assumption that there is present a voice to speak for every interest concerned. The difficulty of making one and the same government embrace two such different systems is well summarised in the following quotation from the report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission :—

“It may well be asked with all deference whether Parliament is the best qualified body to make laws by which almost every act of these people is to be governed. It is apparent to all who understand the situation that the natives are being over-administered and that they are ignorant of many of the laws which affect themselves. . . . Considering its origin and composition Parliament stands virtually in the relationship of an oligarchy to the natives, and naturally it studies more the interest of the constituencies to which its members owe their position, than to those who had no voice in their election, more particularly when the interests of the represented conflict with those of the unrepresented. The need for an approach

to some simple, yet effective, form of personal control, as to what the natives best comprehend and what their natural propensities and habits require, has been commented on by several witnesses. The following extract bearing on the point is taken from the statement of one of our most intelligent and thoughtful magistrates:—‘Uniformity in administrative principles should be specially aimed at. The treatment of the native in general must be of an autocratic nature. The masses are scarcely out of their childhood, and a certain amount of strict discipline is as essential to their well-being as it is to the well-being of any body, scholastic or other, under special government. . . .’”

The situation thus depicted may be likened to that of a family of children who have been committed to the guardianship of a joint-stock company, at whose annual meeting of shareholders the children themselves have neither voice nor vote.

Dangers attending native enfranchisement.

At the same time the remedy is not easy, for the enfranchisement of the native is beset with difficulties. In every polity the crux of the problem of citizenship is to find a test which will not extend the franchise beyond those qualified to exercise it, that is to say, those who can be brought to conceive the State as having an interest distinct from and superior to their own. A voter incapable of some feeling of intelligent patriotism, who finds his vote in demand, naturally regards it as something

to be sold for a visible consideration. The dullest savage who is inaccessible to political reason is amenable to bribes, and whoever can bribe him with least scruple and most ingenuity secures his vote. Consequently a premature and wholesale extension of enfranchisement to the native might mean, not indeed government by black men, but the transfer of political control from white men with some zeal for good government to those among them who best know how to corrupt.

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Behind these differences, and indeed more serious than any of them, is the antipathy between the white and coloured races with which the governments in South Africa have to reckon. The feeling may be latent, but it is never dead. Race feeling is of different kinds. Antagonism may manifest itself between two peoples whom chance, not inclination, have brought together, like the Saxons and Normans. They may none the less be capable of co-operating for a common political object and of becoming, in course of time, one people. The conflict between the chief white races in South Africa is of this ephemeral kind. But little reflection is needed to see that the race question between black and white in South Africa arises from an antipathy whose roots strike deeper. The European and negro races must have diverged when their common ancestors were scarcely entitled to the name of man. For ages the two races have followed separate paths, which never crossed until each race had changed as

Constitutional
antipathy of
white and black.

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The mixed pop-
ulation another
difficulty.

much almost as men can change without losing attributes common to humanity. This antipathy aggravates the difficulty of adjusting the legal, social, industrial and political relations of the two peoples; because it always lurks in readiness to seize upon any failure in the process of adjustment, and to assert itself in some violent and deplorable outburst.

No account of the duties of South African government can ignore the special problems imposed upon it by race dualism or the immense possibilities of blunder which such problems present. It might be supposed that the difficulty is a temporary one at most, and that a solution will offer itself automatically as the races mingle. But, as a matter of fact, it seems as though such fusion as has already occurred has operated to increase rather than to lessen the difficulty. The mixed race is excluded from the pale, not only of white society, but from that of black as well, and holds itself aloof from both. It stands apart practically as though it were a third race. Not only so but the presence of a mixed community lays on government the invidious task of deciding whether particular persons are to be classed with the white, coloured or black populations. This difficulty is reflected in the number of different definitions of the word "native" which are to be found in South African statute books; none of them has succeeded in finally determining the frontiers of the three races.

With this statement of the problem before us, we may now enquire how far the system of government in South Africa is fitted to solve it. As we have seen in Chapter I., Great Britain acquired and held South Africa because the command of its coast was necessary for the protection of her dominions and trade in the East. Her statesmen were less interested in the country for its own sake than for that of another, and the problems of its government were never fully before their minds. At the outset they made the mistake of thinking that the coast could be separated and held apart from the interior. In the next place the territory was split up into provincial areas, a step in itself necessary and open to no objection so long as there existed one government, competent to maintain harmony in their relations and in those of the two societies co-existing throughout the country. The next step, however, was to invest the provincial governments with attributes of sovereignty, whether as republics or as colonies; and to withdraw the Imperial power into the background. All this time, however, the Imperial Government retained a direct responsibility for certain portions of the country. In other words, while it divided South Africa into provinces and equipped them, or left them to equip themselves, with forms of provincial government, it provided no government for South Africa itself. This mistake has proved in the event one of the costliest that Great Britain has ever made.

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The political
institutions of
South Africa
are unsuited to
the problem,

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involving a mischievous division of responsibility between the Imperial and colonial governments.

To begin with, the separate States acting in isolation were not strong enough to exercise the full functions of sovereign government. The strongest of them all proved unequal to the task of controlling Basutoland, and handed it back to the Imperial Government. This admission of weakness on the part of the European community in South Africa was a direct result of its dismemberment; for no one can imagine that the white people of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State could not, even in 1883, have forced disarmament on the Basutos if they had all applied themselves to the task under the direction of a single government. South Africans, too weak to set their own house in order, grew accustomed to leaning on the Imperial power; and the tacit understanding that in the last resort British troops and money can be called into action to enforce the policy of the white communities, has seriously impaired their sense of a responsibility which ought to be theirs alone. The effects of the vague compromise which was arrived at have made themselves powerfully felt in England as well. So long as the British taxpayer may be called upon to pay for the suppression of native revolts, the Imperial Government has no choice but to have a native policy of its own. Ideas upon native questions which are conceived in England, 6,000 miles away from the scene of action, inevitably differ from those entertained by the colonial govern-

ments. The most excellent principles may be capable of the greatest mischief if they are not suited to the facts of the case. The man on the spot imagines that the home government makes no attempt to understand the real difficulties and dangers with which he is faced, and the home taxpayer is equally apt to suspect that the broad principles of justice are being sacrificed locally to panic or profit. Such differences are most dangerous at the periods of crisis which inevitably force them to the surface. A collision with natives almost always means a collision with British opinion. This unfortunate coincidence encourages the natives to believe that the Imperial Government is on their side, and exasperates the white community in its attitude towards the black. In the inland territories colonial opinion has been seriously warped by mere reaction against the views of the British public, always well-intentioned but not always well-informed.

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We have seen how the unity of control, which might have produced a stable and consistent native policy, was lacking; we have now to see how the colonial governments addressed themselves one by one to the problem so far as it came within the ken of each, and what they made of it. It so happened that the territorial boundaries were fixed in such a way that each local government was left to deal with a different set of conditions, and each fell, therefore, into a different attitude towards the natives. South of the Zambesi

The same problem presented itself in a different shape to each government.

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the proportion of white inhabitants to coloured is more than one to five. In Cape Colony there are more than one to four. In Natal there are less than one to ten. Natal, moreover, is peopled by the most warlike tribes in South Africa. The position of the white community in Natal is far weaker than in the Cape Colony; and we may therefore expect to find that it views the native question in a different light.

The Cape Colony.

The policy of the Cape Colony is conceived in the belief that the problem will find its solution in narrowing the gulf which divides the races. It does not assume that the mass of natives are at present on the same level as Europeans, nor even near that level; but merely that there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent them from attaining it so nearly as to be capable of absorption in the same polity as the white man. To this end, therefore, the government applies its energies in a variety of ways. It endeavours, so far as possible, to eliminate all special laws applicable to the native only, and to render him amenable to those of the white. The process is, of course, less rapid in the native territories of the Transkei than in other parts of the colony, where the European infusion is larger. But the pace must everywhere depend on local conditions, and in some places attempts to advance too quickly have ended in a reversion to the methods of the Transkei.

Native administration in the Transkei.

Native law, though recognised in the Cape Colony, is not codified. A special penal code

is enforced in the Transkeian territories, but it applies to all their inhabitants without distinction of race. In the Transkei it has also been laid down that where the parties are natives civil cases shall be tried according to native law. Even beyond the Transkei there are courts such as those of the special magistrates at King William's Town, at Keiskamahoeck and Middeldrift, where native law is administered in the trial of purely native civil cases; but although there has never been any difficulty in carrying out the decisions of these tribunals, they are, nevertheless, not enforceable at law. Generally speaking, the scheme of government applied to the Transkeian territories is accommodated to the patriarchal ideas of the native. They are placed under the administration of a single chief magistrate, who is the visible representative of government for the whole territory. The Governor of the Cape Colony is empowered to legislate, on the advice of the cabinet, by proclamation for the Transkei, so that he holds the position of a supreme chief who is able to make laws as well as to enforce them. On the other hand, persevering efforts have been made to mould the Transkei natives to European methods of government by introducing a representative system of local administration. A number of district councils have been created, consisting each of six members, of whom four are nominated by the district headmen from among their own number, to be recommended to the Governor

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for appointment. The other two members are selected by the Governor on his own initiative. The resident magistrate of the district is *ex-officio* chairman. Each of the district councils nominates two members for appointment by the Governor to a general council, which deals with local affairs under the chairmanship of the chief magistrate. This procedure, by which the natives nominate representatives for appointment by the Governor, is significant of the process of transition from ideas of patriarchal autocracy to those of self-government. The general council and the district councils deal with roads, bridges, dams and other public works, tree planting, the eradication of noxious weeds, stock disease, general and industrial education, pounds, irrigation and public health. The district councils are concerned only with local matters, the general council with matters which cannot be confined to one district. The general council likewise deals with labour recruiting, and levies the rates from which the expenses of the district councils, as well as its own, are defrayed. Elaborate as this machinery seems, the natives none the less retain many of their primitive conceptions. Most of the land, for instance, is held in communal ownership, but the government is doing what it can to educate the native to the European notion of individual property.

Discrimination
avoided else-
where.

As regards the remainder of the Cape Colony, we may say, speaking broadly, that the laws discriminate between native and

European only so far as is felt to be absolutely necessary in the natives' interest. The chief example is that of the law which imposes restrictions on the use of liquor by natives.

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Probably the most important influence in the raising of the native population is education. The relative liberality with which the Cape Colony has treated native education will be seen from Statement No. VIII., taken from the report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5. From this statement it will be seen that in 1903 the Cape Colony, with a third of the total native population, was spending on native education more than twice as much as the whole of the rest of South Africa where the other two-thirds live.

Education.

Statement No.
VIII.

The intention of the policy which we have described is that as soon as the native has reached a certain level of civilisation he is to share in the government of the country with the white. For the purpose of qualifying for the franchise both races are submitted to exactly the same test. If a native can sign his name and write his address and occupation, and occupies property worth £75, or as an alternative has earned wages at the rate of £4 3s. 4d. a month (£50 a year), he is admitted to the fullest political privileges of the white. He has also the same right to stand for election as the white, though the privilege has not, as yet, been exercised. The policy of the colony is summed up in the famous formula: "Equal rights for all civilised men."

The native
franchise.

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Educational and
property tests
ineffective.

But it is doubtful whether, in pursuit of its ideal, the Cape Colony has succeeded in devising a satisfactory method of determining when the native has attained a level of civilisation which entitles him to take his place in politics beside the European. Can the existence which any man in South Africa, whether black or white, must lead upon an income of £50, or in premises rented at £7 a year, be really called civilised? Or is ability to trace the characters of some dozen words a sufficient test of civilisation? The value of the test must be judged not so much by its intention as by its practical results. The hypothesis is that a real knowledge of reading and writing is required in order to obtain a vote. But the sole aim of election agents is to secure the registration of all voters, coloured or white, who are likely to support their candidate, and those on one side or the other will naturally do all they can to secure a vote for every native who desires it. It is said, indeed, that when a new voters' roll is being prepared, party agents establish schools where natives are taught mechanically to trace the prescribed formula, a trick easily learned by an imitative race and requiring no knowledge of writing nor any understanding of the symbols produced.

The coloured
people treated
as whites.

The policy adopted in the Cape towards the intermediate race of coloured people is to treat them so far as is possible on the same footing as the whites. They are even exempted from the special laws which are intended

to protect the native from his passion for liquor. But the Cape coloured people are so intemperate that it is doubtful whether they have yet reached the point of civilisation at which men have more to gain from liberty than restriction.

Turning to Natal we find its law, so far Natal. from avoiding distinction between black and white, appears to emphasise it. It is only in Natal that the body of native law has been reduced to statutory form. This collection does not purport to be a penal code, but it penalises certain acts on the part of natives, which are not usually made criminal in civilised societies, such as prostitution, adultery, illicit intercourse with a widow, the seduction of an unmarried girl, remaining in a kraal after being requested to withdraw, or wandering about a kraal at night without good reason. Girls and women found roaming from their own kraals without good reason, are also punishable. All natives are subject to this body of law unless they have obtained exemption, which is granted under certain conditions. Under the constitution the Governor of the colony is supreme chief, and exercises all the powers of a chief under native law. In practice the authority of the supreme chief is wielded by the Governor in executive council or, in other words, by the cabinet of responsible Ministers. None the less, as a matter of law, the Governor, in his capacity as paramount chief, may act on his own authority and contrary to the wishes of

his own cabinet. In other words, it is open to him to give effect to the policy of the Imperial Government in cases where that does not coincide with that of the local white community. As supreme chief he may appoint and remove native chiefs, and call natives to arms or to supply labour for public works. He may fine natives for disobedience to his orders. He is not answerable for his acts to any court.

**Native juris-
dictions.**

Native chiefs may try all civil suits except divorce cases, between members of their tribes. They deal with petty offences, and may inflict fines up to £2. Beyond this they may only report on crimes. Appeals from their jurisdiction lie to the magistrates. There is also a native high court, with the full powers of a supreme court in purely native cases, and an appeal therefrom lies straight to the Privy Council. In one instance the native high court has held that a case fell within the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the colony and not within its own. The supreme court took exactly the opposite view, so that where the two courts disagree on the question of jurisdiction, suitors may be compelled to go to the lengthy and costly proceeding of moving the Privy Council in England to decide whether the supreme court or the native high court is to hear their case. This anomaly would disappear if South Africa had a single court of appeal.

Natal's conservative disposition towards her black subjects is shown in other ways as well. Statement No. VIII. indicates that in 1903 the Cape Government was raising by way of taxation 17.7 pence a head of the native population, and was spending 80.3 pence on their education. Compared with these figures Natal was raising 43.05 pence and spending 1.9 pence. The pass system is also far more widely enforced. Natives exempted from the operation of native law can obtain the franchise upon certain conditions, but these are so rigorous in themselves and so jealously applied that, as a matter of fact, only three natives have ever obtained the vote.

In every direction, therefore, we look in vain for any attempt to assimilate the natives of Natal to the civilisation and institutions of the European. Nor is this any matter for surprise. The small white community, surrounded by a black population ten times as numerous, cannot afford to realise the ideal which inspires the Cape Colony. Its policy is bound to be negative because it is dominated by a sense of the imperious necessity of maintaining, at all costs, the supremacy of the white. The result is that while the Cape Colony moves steadily towards the abolition of caste distinctions, Natal adheres persistently to their rigorous maintenance.

In the Orange River Colony there are less than two, and in the Transvaal less than four coloured persons to each white inhabitant. But though the white populations of these col-

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Other features
of Natal policy.

The inland colonies.

onies are strong compared with that of Natal, their ideas are coloured by traditions inherited from the settlers who migrated inland to escape the native policy adopted by the Imperial government in the Cape Colony. For this reason their attitude towards the Kaffir resembles that of Natal. In the Transvaal the Governor exercises powers of a supreme chief, which are similar to, but somewhat less definite than, those of the Governor of Natal. Though native law is not codified, it is administered where both parties to a suit are natives, in so far as it is not repugnant to justice, morality or civilised principles. The laws of the Orange River Colony do not recognise native law and custom, although the courts take some cognisance of it. The table of expenditure shows further divergencies from the policy of the Cape Colony. In 1903, when the Cape was raising 17.7 pence a head by native taxation and spending 8.03 pence a head on native education, the Transvaal was raising 82.9 pence and spending 1.5 pence, and the Orange River Colony was raising 43.6 pence and spending 1.8 pence. In both colonies the pass system is widely applied, and the franchise, municipal as well as parliamentary, is limited to white men. In the Orange River Colony the native is forbidden to hold land, and he only escaped a similar prohibition in the Transvaal because the custom on the subject was mistaken for law and no prohibition was ever enacted. In both colonies the tendency is

always to rank the coloured man with the black rather than with the white. The mixed population, as well as the black, are far more sober than those of the Cape Colony, thanks to the rigorous enforcement of the laws which forbid them liquor.

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As the native policy in the Cape is expressed in the watchword, "Equal rights for all civilised men," so is the prevalent sentiment in the inland colonies contained in the blunt declaration of the republican Grondwet, that "the people will not tolerate equality between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or State." The distance between these doctrines is the measure of the gulf that now divides the communities developed under separate governments north and south of the Orange river.

Policies north
and south of the
Orange river
compared.

Beyond the Limpopo the small European Rhodesia. population is in a position somewhat similar to that of the white community in Natal, and as a consequence their attitude towards the Kaffir is much the same. The government of Rhodesia, however, was organised from the Cape, and is administered subject to Imperial control, so that its native policy approximates to that of the mother colony. Colour, for instance, is no bar to the franchise.

Hitherto we have treated methods of native administration as falling under one or other of two heads. But a third and perfectly distinct policy is pursued in the protectorates directly governed by Great Britain. Imperial control is pushed only to the point of securing

The native protectorates.

the maintenance of order and the suppression of barbarous customs; and to this end a resident commissioner, a staff of magistrates, and a police force are retained in each protectorate. Otherwise the native is left free to develop his own tribal life, and no attempt is made to assimilate it to the institutions of European society. In Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate native law is administered, but in the latter it is laid down that where native law is found incompatible with peace, order and good government, the court may decide in accordance with the law that would regulate the decision if the disputants were European. Basutoland contains some of the finest agricultural land in South Africa, and in this instance the native society, taking advantage of the education imparted by missionaries, is being affected by the influence of European civilisation without coming into close juxtaposition with a white community. Its most characteristic feature, however, is the Basuto council, consisting of an inner ring of chiefs and an outer ring of the common people, who all assemble under the presidency of the resident commissioner. Such councils are an ancient native institution, and are to be found in a less conspicuous form in parts of the other protectorates. But no attempt is made by the Imperial Government to supersede the jurisdiction of the chiefs, whose authority remains firmly established. If the Basutos are advancing, it is on lines of their

own, and not in the direction of democratic government, individual tenure and the other institutions peculiar to European civilisation.

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The native policy pursued by the Cape Colony is more developed than any of the others, and inspired by a far more definite aim. It is fair, therefore, to treat of it at greater length than the others in any comparative account; but such treatment does not imply any commendation of the Cape policy over and above the rest. Indeed, in this enquiry we are not in search of a native policy, but only of a government capable of conceiving and applying one on a scale adequate to the dimensions of the problem which confronts South Africa.

No preference
for Cape policy
implied.

As matters stand, at least three distinct programmes for their future are presented to the natives' mind. At the great centres of labour Kaffirs from one locality are now brought into frequent contact with those of another. Apart from this it is well known that communications are constantly exchanged between the various tribes throughout South Africa. The result is that the enormous native community as a whole is surprised and disquieted by the different and confusing ideals held up before it. The Kaffir in the northern colonies who sees his kindred in the Cape Colony less heavily taxed, less harassed by pass regulations, entrusted with powers of local government, and courted at election times by white candidates for Parliament, is

Conflicting poli-
cies bewilder
the native,

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bound to think that black men are properly entitled to rights denied to him. In all the colonies the natives cast wistful eyes at the freedom from European interference enjoyed by the Basuto and the Bechuana under Imperial protection. They apprehend the existence of another power, higher, and apparently more beneficent than the local governments, which they dream may some day be moved to place them in a similar position to the Basutos. Thus throughout South Africa the mind of the native is unsettled on the question of his own relations to the European and of the nature of the government which he is expected to obey.

and divide the
sympathies of
the whites.

Besides producing discrepant results on native society, the differences of policy react also on the various white communities and tend to foster discord between them. A citizen of the northern colonies resents the privileges and position accorded to the native in the Cape, and foretells the time when the coloured vote will outnumber the white. The Cape colonial retorts by contrasting his own progressive ideas with the policy of negation adopted by his neighbours, and the tranquillity of his own native territories with the recurring unrest in Natal. The wider the difference in the native policies the more does the sense of kinship decline.

Unity needed
in the end,
rather than the
means.

No one who realises the varying conditions to be found in different parts of South Africa will fall into the error of supposing that uniformity in the methods of native adminis-

tration is either possible or desirable. It is not uniformity of method that is needed, but rather singleness of purpose. The meaning and importance of this distinction is best explained by applying it to any of the existing areas within the jurisdiction of one government. Taking for example the Cape Colony, the largest and oldest of these areas, we find that as the conditions which exist in the Transkei differ from those of the Western province, so do the methods employed in each. As the materials vary, so do the instruments; but the end to which they are applied remains the same because they are directed by one political brain. Where several political brains are independently at work within one and the same territory no such unity of purpose can exist.

These considerations account for the fact that the Native Affairs Commission appointed by all the colonies of South Africa in 1903 has done so little to reconcile their policies. After two years of enquiry the Commission produced a series of recommendations, most of them unanimous; but in point of fact hardly anything has been done to carry them into effect. No community can act upon abstract resolutions. Each considers the conditions within its own frontiers and applies its energies to deal with these alone, without reflecting that the results may affect conditions beyond its borders, for which it feels no direct responsibility.

The S.A. Native Affairs Commission has not led to practical results.

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South African
conditions com-
pared with those
of India.

The various colonial policies have developed so gradually that the conflict they involve has scarcely attracted the attention it deserves. Men only see what is done within their own doors, and fail to recognise how incompatible it is with what their neighbours are doing elsewhere. The curious and trivial features of life are the easiest to note. Those which are common and all pervading are at once the most essential and the most elusive. The best way, therefore, to realise what is going on all day and every day before one's eyes may be to picture what would happen if the political conditions of South Africa were transferred to another country. If no central government had been established in India, the governments of Madras, Bombay and the other provinces would each have pursued a line of its own. Some of them, regarding the natives of India as permanently unfit to manage their own affairs, might have set themselves to create a strong, intelligent and beneficent bureaucracy of English officials. Others, believing that the natives could manage their own affairs, might have kept that ideal steadily before their eyes and have encouraged them to share in the work of government. Either policy might be sound if pursued consistently throughout British India, but no argument is needed to show that if both were attempted side by side they must lead to disaster. Local differences there must always be; the Bhil of Central India and the Bengali of Calcutta are not, and can-

not be, handled in precisely the same way; but the point of importance for us is that there is unity of purpose below the surface. If one province were administered on Prussian and another on Radical lines nothing but chaos could follow. As it is the Governor-General in Council, acting under the direction of the Imperial Government, is supreme in fact and law. The local governments are held together as parts of one immense machine, and are controlled by a single and coherent purpose. The purpose may be mistaken, and may involve the country in ruin. Defeat may await the most perfectly organised force, but not the certain defeat which awaits an army whose several divisions are acting under separate commands and on incompatible plans of campaign.

From the example of India we may learn the end to be sought, but not the means of attaining it. The native policies of the South African governments cannot be unified as in India by a control imposed by the Imperial government from without. The white community in South Africa differs from that of India in two fundamental respects. It is far larger in proportion to the native population, and it has taken permanent root in the country. Any scheme of government which seeks to regulate its domestic affairs from without is so utterly at variance with its primary instincts as to be quite unworkable in practice. Not only would the European population become ungovernable except by

Unity of purpose in native policy cannot be provided for South Africa as in India by the Imperial government.

force, but they would be driven into an attitude of hostility towards the natives. Those who reflect upon the causes and consequences of the great trek will recognise that if one ruling purpose is to inspire the native policy of this country that purpose must spring from within and not from without. The unity of British government cannot avail to redress the results of South African disunion.

If the whites in S.A. are to control native affairs their policy must be tempered by a feeling of complete responsibility,

To begin with, at any rate, the task of regulating the relations of the two societies will rest in the hands of the superior race; for the natives who are fit to share in it are as yet so few as scarcely to count. In this, as in every course, there are risks that cannot be ignored. It is not so much that the interests of the natives will be consciously set aside as that they may be overlooked and forgotten. While one society will always be pouring its views into the ears of a kindred government, which speaks its language and thinks its thoughts, the other will either be dumb or fail to make itself heard or understood. This danger will never be absent. In India, the safeguard against it is a lively sense of responsibility on the part of an official service directed by the Imperial power which commands from above. But in South Africa, though the Imperial power may exhort and interfere, it cannot command. The only force that can be trusted to quicken the conscience of the white rulers is a sense that the consequences of their own mistakes, however terrible, must be borne by themselves. But

such a feeling can never exist until the white community is unquestionably strong enough to bear the burden of its acts. The surest road to ruin is the rule of a frightened oligarchy; and worse even than external interference is a makeshift which leaves a host of savages to the control of a white community, not too certain of its strength. No wise or far-sighted policy is to be expected from rulers who live in fear of their subjects; for in the interests of the natives themselves the governing class must be prepared on occasion to enforce measures which time and experience alone can justify to primitive minds.

So long as the European and coloured societies are broken up into many unequal parts, so that handfuls of whites find themselves isolated amongst large and powerful tribes, there will be places where the power of the white to control the black is in doubt. It is not a question of physical force alone. The able-bodied whites of a small colony may be numerous enough to quell a native rising, but the industries of the country may come to a standstill meantime. Fear of ruin rather than of physical danger begets infirmity of purpose, and drives the small communities to lean unconsciously on their neighbours or on the Imperial power, with the inevitable result that their sense of responsibility is weakened. Yet none of the powers with whom they are in tacit alliance is able to control their policy; and when the

which cannot
exist in divided
communities too
weak to handle
the problem.

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Imperial Government attempts to do so the white community is exasperated beyond measure and the natives are encouraged to ignore its authority.

The white population if united would be strong enough to bear the whole responsibility.

If, however, the white population were once united to deal with the problem as a whole, all these conditions would be changed. Not only would a single government be animated by a single purpose but, backed by a united people, it would cease to question its own strength. Such a government, and no other, could be left to handle the problem with a sense of full responsibility because it would know that all its mistakes must be paid for in South African money and lives.

A right native policy cannot be found before union but only after it and by means of it.

Further than this it is needless to go. To imagine that a national government can only be attained when a common native policy has been conceived and accepted is a mischievous delusion and inversion of ideas. It is beside the mark for South Africa to search for a native policy till she has devised a national government. When once that is achieved the other will follow as the day follows the night.

Immigration.

Relation of immigration to the native question.

In stating the native problem we have attempted to show its effects on the economic relations of the white and coloured societies. It is these relations which determine the immigration policy of governments, which find their population unequal to the demands of their growing industries. But in describing how the various governments have tried to

deal with the different elements of the native problem, the immigration question has been left for separate treatment. We have now to see how the various governments have handled it.

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In the Cape Colony the government has never organised the importation of coloured labour from oversea since the British occupation; but in the old days Malays and West Coast natives were freely introduced as slaves, and these became the forefathers of certain elements in the present population. Large numbers of natives are now recruited for labour in the Kimberley mines, but only in Basutoland and other British territories. This does not affect the balance of population in British South Africa.

Immigration in
the Cape Colony.

Perhaps the most striking feature of native administration in Natal is its apparent despair of improving the efficiency of the native as a labourer or of finding a place for him in the industrial system. In spite of having the largest Kaffir population in proportion to her size, Natal has yet found it necessary to create a statutory trust supervised by Government, and provided with public funds, for importing indentured labour from India. Each labourer is indentured to serve for five years for housing, rations, and a monthly wage, in the case of men beginning at 10s. a month and rising to 14s., and in the case of women beginning at 5s. and rising to 7s. Low as these terms appear, they have proved sufficiently

In Natal.

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VI.

attractive to induce the Indian coolie to leave his home in thousands. At the close of their indentures the labourers may re-engage for a further term of two years, or return to India, or remain in Natal subject to an annual poll-tax of £3 in addition to the universal poll-tax of £1. As a matter of fact, the payment of these taxes is to some extent evaded. In the course of the last thirty years Natal has thus accumulated an Indian population of about 108,000, including nearly 50,000 women. Of these 42,000 are still under indenture. In the meantime the white population remains at less than 100,000.

In the Trans-
vaal.

The Transvaal has done far more than Natal to encourage habits of industry in the native, if only because its need for labour is greater. But the local supply is quite unequal to the demand, and the Transvaal mines, like the Natal plantations, rely on enormous forces of imported coloured labour. The natural anxiety of the neighbouring colonies to keep their local supplies of labour to themselves has had the effect of driving the Transvaal industries to draw, first on Portuguese territory and afterwards on Asia. But few of these labourers remain permanently in the country, and its most important industries are, therefore, founded on a migratory proletariat, most of them domiciled in foreign countries, and some in the neighbouring colonies of British South Africa. The recruitment of rough labour for the mines is almost entirely con-

centrated in the hands of one great co-operative agency, the working capital for which was subscribed by the various companies in proportion to their labour requirements. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association recruits coloured labour throughout British South Africa south of the Limpopo, but it draws its largest and most valuable supplies from Portuguese East Africa. The natives from the Mozambique provinces do not object to work underground, and are naturally more industrious than the other South African natives. Recruiting is controlled by agreements between the two governments. These provide that for every native recruited within their frontier the Portuguese authorities shall receive 13s. 6d. About 36,000 natives are enlisted annually in the Mozambique provinces, and the wages spent there on their return are estimated to amount to £750,000 a year. They are not, however, obliged to leave the Transvaal when their indentures expire, though most of them do so. No similar capitation payments are made to the governments of British South Africa on natives recruited from their territories. The Rhodesian government, however, imposes a tax of 5s. a month on the pass of every native recruited for employment beyond its frontiers, and the result is that no recruiting takes place from Rhodesia. Its action is a good illustration of how the division of South Africa into separate governments tends to keep the labour supply in watertight compartments and to

prevent it from finding its own level. The recruitment of labour in China was carried out under treaties between that country and the Imperial government. It was subject to the condition that the labourer should return to his home when the indentures expired. Under this scheme about 60,000 labourers were brought to South Africa. Recruiting has now ceased, and the whole of the 25,000 labourers who still remain will have left by January, 1910.

White immigra-
tion of male
settlers.

We have seen how the maintenance of a system which confines unskilled labour to coloured men naturally leads to coloured immigration whenever the indigenous supplies fail. But to judge correctly the influence which the native question has on immigration it is equally necessary to consider the efforts which have been made to increase the white as well as the coloured element. The subject may be passed in silence so far as the coast colonies are concerned, simply because, with the exception of some slight assistance afforded to female immigration, it is difficult to point to any deliberate measures for promoting white settlement. In both the inland colonies some efforts in this direction have been made of recent years. But the process is a difficult one. These colonies did not enjoy the same advantage as the north-west of Canada, which started with a stable government, competent to distribute the land on scientific and economic lines; and as a result of previous

appropriations and assignments there is little public estate of any value which is available for colonisation south of the tropics. The sum of two and a quarter million pounds spent upon land settlement in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony may be taken as the cost of purchasing land, providing capital, and maintaining the settler, until he has gained the experience which the colonist in Canada and Australia usually earns as a hired labourer. How much of this expenditure will be recovered it would be premature to say; as the fruits of it, some 1,910 men, women and children have been established in the two colonies, of whom no less than 907 were born in South Africa. Viewed as an immigration scheme, it has therefore added about 1,000 souls to the white population. The administration of the settlement funds and farms has been placed for five years in the hands of boards, which will remain under the direction of the Imperial government until their expiry in the year 1912, when their responsibilities will lapse to the colonial governments.

White immigration has been fostered by other agencies than that of the State. A useful form of it is promoted by certain societies, to which the governments of the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony afford some indirect support. In every colony and protectorate the white women are fewer than the men. In the country districts the death rate amongst married women is high,

Of female settlers.

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and the remarriage of widowers once or twice is frequent. Women often marry and vacate their situations as teachers, clerks and servants; and the demand for substitutes is continuous even when trade is bad. Naturally women are attracted to the country to fill the vacant posts, and societies have been formed with the wise and practical object of turning this demand to the best advantage. These agencies set themselves to ascertain and make known the character and conditions of employment, to receive applications from employers, and to select the candidates who present themselves. Thanks to their activity some 1,400 women have been added to the white population since March, 1903.

These schemes
due to Imperial
rather than
South African
opinion.

It is idle to close our eyes to the fact that both these schemes for promoting European immigration are exotic. Neither of them was the natural and spontaneous outcome of public opinion in South Africa itself. They were initiated at a time when elective institutions were in abeyance, and when the Imperial government was directly responsible for the administration of the inland colonies. One of the schemes, as we have seen, has been reserved for Imperial control for a further period of five years. It is essential, however, to mention them in any account of the action taken by the governments of the inland colonies to control the composition of their population.

Methods of con-
trolling spon-
taneous immi-
gration.

The next point to consider is the methods adopted to control the influx which seeks of

its own accord to enter from oversea. To regulate immigration into a country so great as British South Africa might seem a difficult task. But its inland frontiers are guarded by the tropics on the north and by deserts on the west, and its coasts give access to immigrants at barely a dozen ports. The number of white persons who entered and left the various British ports in the year 1907 was as follows :—

	Immigrants.	Emigrants.
Cape Town	21,975	30,660
Durban	11,414	14,939
Port Elizabeth	2,284	1,967
East London	2,069	2,585
Port Nolloth	144	267
Other ports	105	76
	<hr/> 37,991	<hr/> 50,494

It is clear that Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London are the only ports of consequence, and the problem thus narrows itself down to very tractable dimensions. No doubt the foreign ports of Delagoa Bay and Beira are a means of access to the British provinces. Indeed it is known that criminals who have been turned back from British ports do insinuate themselves into the inland colonies through Delagoa Bay. But no large number could penetrate by way of foreign ports otherwise than by rail, and the railway traffic can to some extent be supervised. No country of equal size, with the possible exception of Australia, could control immigration

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more easily than British South Africa, if it had a government which could deal with the territory as a whole. As it is, its natural advantages are being lost through disconcerted and haphazard action.

The nature and
working of im-
migration laws.

Immigration into the Cape Colony, Natal and the Transvaal is regulated by laws which authorise the governments to exclude persons unable to write out an application for permission to enter, in some European language, including Yiddish. They may also close their doors to paupers (that is to say, persons who cannot produce £20 in cash), criminals, lunatics, persons of immoral profession, or suffering from loathsome diseases, or dangerous to peace, order and good government. The Orange River Colony, on the other hand, still relies on a peace preservation ordinance, which confers on the government indefinite powers to regulate the entry of persons into the colony.

Difficulty of re-
gulating over-
land immigra-
tion,

But if an immigrant has once established himself in the Cape Colony or Natal, it is very difficult to exclude him from any of the inland colonies, the laws of which cannot operate beyond their own boundaries. The natural result is that where the governments differ on matters of policy, and one admits or even encourages immigrants whom its neighbours desire to exclude, the latter are driven to protect themselves by elaborate expedients. In framing its own immigration law the Cape Colony relied upon a language test to hinder the influx of Asiatics, including Chinese. But when the Transvaal imported

Chinese in large numbers to the Rand, the Cape government, fearing their escape into its own territory, passed a law forbidding Chinese to enter or reside in the colony, unless they held a certificate which was only granted to such of them as had already acquired a domicile there. These certificates bear the finger prints of the Chinese to whom they are issued, a plan which experience has shown to be the only sure means of preventing their use by others than the lawful holders.

The accumulation of 108,000 Asiatics in Natal presented a far more serious problem to its northern neighbours. The Orange River Colony and the Cape Colony are protected by Basutoland and Pondoland, native territories which the Indians dare not or do not traverse. But there is nothing to restrain them from crossing the northern border, and it was found that the Indian population of the Transvaal was steadily increasing. The Transvaal government was therefore driven to the same expedient as that to which the Cape Colony resorted to escape a possible influx of Chinese. It passed a law requiring Asiatics lawfully resident in the Transvaal to register their names, and to take out a certificate bearing finger impressions, by means of which the identity of the holder could be ascertained at any time. This scheme was very distasteful to the Asiatics, but experience has shown it to be the only means of effecting a necessary object. The action of the Transvaal in this respect is important,

especially from
Natal to the
Transvaal.

because it establishes a machinery which, however objectionable in itself, will enable the government of united South Africa to limit the Asiatic population domiciled in Natal to that part of the country. Without it the difficulty of including Natal in the South African union might have been insuperable.

The efforts of South African governments, whether to promote or to control immigration, have one feature in common. All alike point the moral that national impotence waits on disunion. The white people of South Africa cannot, while divided, prescribe the relations which are to obtain between themselves and the coloured races. But yet, while they remain inactive, economic conditions are silently dictating the type of society to exist in this country, and determining the elements of its future population. We have seen something of what those conditions are, and we are bound to consider the issues to which they tend. The United Kingdom has a population of 363 and India a population of 158 to the square mile. British South Africa to-day has less than six inhabitants, white and coloured, to the square mile. Who can say that in the course of time it may not support many times that number? Let us venture on what is by no means an absurd prediction, and assume that in a hundred years' time the country may contain forty millions of people, and in fact be the home of one of the great collections of the human race. The precise figure is of no moment. It is not the quantity,

but the quality, of a population that matters in the long run. The world is richer for a population of twenty millions, half of whom are Europeans, than for a population of forty millions, of whom nine-tenths are negroes and Asiatics. The present proportion of white to coloured in South Africa is one to six; and how far the future population is to be drawn from the higher and how far from the lower races of mankind is the issue which hangs on the native problem of to-day. The answer depends upon whether South Africa accommodates her industrial system to the habits of the whites or to those of the coloured races. If the system is one in which the lower races thrive better than the higher, the coloured element will grow at the expense of the European. South Africa will then sink to the level of States such as those of central and southern America—republics in name and not seldom tyrannies in fact, unequal to the task of their own internal government and too weak to exert an influence on the world's affairs. If, on the other hand, the scheme of society allows the white population, instead of the coloured population, to be built up from outside as well as from its own natural increase, so that in the course of years the one gains upon the other, this country will gradually assume its place beside England, the United States, Canada, or Australia, as one of the powers of the world and share in the direction of its future. For many years to come the action of government may shape

the course of events, and no greater responsibility could rest upon this and the coming generations; but eventually the day will arrive when the balance will have inclined irretrievably one way or the other, when no government can alter the work of the past, and when the composition of society in South Africa will be fixed as unalterably as it is in Europe or in Asia to-day.

Public estate.

Everything, therefore, points to the conclusion that the promotion and control of immigration is a matter of supreme importance, which cannot or will not receive attention until it rests in the hands of a national government. In Canada and Australia the moral is the same. There, as here, the instinct of an immigrant who has made a place for himself in the country is to close the door behind him. He is soon concerned to protect his own labour from competition; indeed, Canadian labour organisations are continually pressing the Dominion government to restrict immigration. With the native-born the desire to keep his country to himself is stronger still, for to him the ideas and habits of newcomers born in a distant country are seldom entirely congenial. The narrower and more selfish impulses of the public mind have always more influence with provincial than with national parliaments. Local governments may offer lip-service to the policy of the opened door; but in fact they adopt a policy of inaction, which really means that they are acquiescing in the absurd claim ad-

vanced by first comers to reserve for themselves great portions of the habitable globe. Only a national government faced by national issues will realise how quickly ungarrisoned positions are occupied, not only in war, but by peaceful invasions, far more subtle and far more difficult to resist. The habitual difference of attitude on this point, between a central and a local government, is a strong reason for placing the control of the public estate in the hands of the latter, for land settlement is always one of the most important objects of immigration. Australia presents an excellent illustration: the Commonwealth government has secured control of immigration, but finds itself to a great extent impeded in its efforts to control the composition of society by the fact that the public lands have been left in control of the State governments.

Before closing this chapter it is necessary to refer to a few minor functions of government, which also have for their object the selection of the constituent elements of society.

Functions incidental to the composition of society.

Naturalisation of Aliens.

Closely associated with the duty of regulating the entrance of aliens into the country is that of regulating their formal admission to the rights of citizenship. This duty has everywhere been left by the Imperial Parliament to the discretion of the colonial governments, and the result is that the law of naturalisation throughout the empire is in a

Failure of Imperial Government to define conditions of British citizenship.

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Discrepant laws
of South African
colonies.

state of chaos. In the self-governing colonies of South Africa the law differs on several points of importance, especially as regards the period of residence required. The law of the Cape Colony requires the alien to be resident within its area at the time of his application, and to declare the period during which he has resided there. The intention evidently is that the government should take into account the period of residence before granting citizenship. In Natal, however, the alien must reside for two years in the colony before he can acquire the status of a citizen, and the privilege is restricted to persons of European parentage or descent. In the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony an alien must have resided for a term of not less than five years within the ten preceding his application; or alternatively he must have resided in the course of the last decade for five years in some part of His Majesty's dominions, and have spent the last year in the colony where he seeks naturalisation. The alien who becomes a British subject in the United Kingdom can claim citizenship throughout the Empire, but owing to the diversity of the colonial laws an alien obtaining naturalisation in a colony is a British subject in that colony and nowhere else. This has led to anomalous results. Many residents in the South African Republic, naturalised in the Cape Colony and long accustomed to regard themselves as British subjects, found after the annexation that they were still aliens in the Transvaal

and all other parts of the Empire, except the Cape Colony. More than three years ago the attorneys-general of the four principal colonies and Southern Rhodesia expressed themselves upon the subject as follows :—

This is of course a matter which only the Imperial Parliament could deal with, but we do think that, as far as South Africa is concerned, there should be no difficulty in having uniform legislation on this subject; so that when an alien is naturalised as a British subject in any one part of South Africa he should have the rights of a British subject in any other part to which he may remove . . . We think the governments of the other colonies in South Africa should take steps to introduce similar legislation in their colonies. When once the legislation on the subject is made uniform, the difficulties we have referred to in connection with this subject, would be removed.

The change was made in the Orange River Colony, which was under the same Governor as the Transvaal, and here the matter ended. This is one more example of the failure of all such attempts at evolving order out of chaos in law and administration, while the disunion of which it is the natural result remains untouched.

Census.

The State having set itself to control the composition of society, requires information regarding its numbers and condition. Such information is of special importance in a new country, where the elements of the future population are still unsettled and the relative growth of the white and coloured races has to be watched. This is the object of a census.

Necessity of gauging the growth of population.

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The development of one population can best be understood by comparison with others, and therefore a census is valuable in so far as its returns are comparable with those of other countries. For this reason the enumeration should take place at about the same time in each country. By general agreement a census is taken in the United Kingdom and most of its dependencies at the beginning of each decade, in 1891, 1901, and so on.

Absence of uniformity in South African census of 1904.

The war prevented a census being taken in South Africa in 1901, and by common arrangement between all the governments south of the Zambesi it was taken in 1904. A preliminary conference was held at Pretoria between their representatives, in the hope of securing that the enumeration should everywhere proceed on uniform lines; but its pious resolutions were attended by the usual fate, and as a matter of fact, the various census reports are not so framed as to facilitate the comparison of their results. A little examination of the reports themselves shows that their authors had merely discussed together rather than agreed upon, certain general propositions, and had otherwise framed and executed their plans in complete independence of one another. The different classification of races, for instance, makes it impossible to obtain an accurate enumeration of a particular race throughout South Africa. In Natal we find the races classified as (1) Europeans or whites, (2) Indians and Asiatics, (3) mixed and others, (4) natives in service

(5) natives in native areas. In the Cape we find (1) Europeans or whites, (2) Malays, (3) Hottentots, (4) Fingoes, (5) Kaffirs, (6) Bechuanas, (7) mixed and others. Both Indians and Chinese fall under different headings in these two classifications. If the census of British South Africa were taken by one administration on one plan and its results embodied in a single report, the development of the social conditions of the country would be readily apparent. As it is, such all-important information is either unobtainable or can only be found by a laborious comparison of reports and tables differing from one another in substance as well as in form. To the gain in the value of the results should be added the very material economy which would ensue if the census for all British South Africa were taken by a single office. As Statement No. IX. shows, the cost of the census of 1904 reached the startling total of £150,000. It is certain that a large proportion of this would be saved by having one census instead of many. While one volume would be far more valuable than seven, the printing alone would not cost one quarter as much.

Extravagance
of existing
methods.

Statement
No. IX.

Vital Statistics.

The registration of births, deaths and marriages is a cognate function. If properly carried out the record of births and deaths enables the decennial census to be corrected annually, and the addition of immigrants to the population to be periodically deduced.

Registration of
births, deaths
and marriages
should enable
census to be
checked.

The registrars of vital statistics act under statutory powers; but as the law in each colony differs there is nothing to secure that the returns are made with uniform accuracy or in a shape which admits of correct comparison. The statistical departments of each government collect different facts with differing degrees of exactitude. If a central government were established there is no doubt that it would assume the direction of all such operations.

NOTE.—*When this chapter was actually in print, there was brought to the notice of the authors a paper on the negro in America, written for the information of a club formed for discussing social and political problems, by Mr. W. L. Honnold, a mining engineer by profession and an American by nationality. The longer experience of the United States has a bearing on the future composition of society in South Africa, the importance of which it is difficult to overrate. The authors have therefore obtained Mr. Honnold's kind permission to append his paper to this chapter. It appears as Statement No. X.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIETY.

When society has been constituted and secured against disruption, and when the process of its composition has been determined, the most important duty which its government can undertake is that of conserving it in the best possible condition. The most obvious enemies of men's wellbeing are disease, poverty, vice, and the ignorance which is their common cause. Our purpose in the present chapter is to discuss the means adopted by the different governments in South Africa to combat each of these evils.

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VII.

Subject of the
chapter.

For the protection of public health, it is usual for the State to undertake, in the first place, certain preventive measures. These commonly are expressed in laws framed (a) to prevent the introduction of infectious and contagious disease from without, whether carried by human beings or animals or through the medium of imported articles, and to arrest its spread from one part of the country to another; (b) to enforce certain standards of cleanliness, to prescribe the manner in which dwellings are to be constructed, to provide for a pure and sufficient supply of water and the disposal of waste products, and to make

Analysis of the
functions of pub-
lic health.

provision for the burial of the dead; (c) to prevent industries from being conducted in such a way as to injure the health of those engaged in them; (d) to forbid the adulteration of food-stuffs and the sale of food-stuffs unfit for human consumption, to control the sale of poisons and drugs, and to forbid the use of tobacco by children.

But prophylactic measures by themselves can never be perfect, and the next business of the State is to provide the means of dealing with the disease that manages to elude them. For this purpose the government endeavours to provide a well qualified agency for the treatment of sickness. This it does by granting charters empowering certain associations to certify the fitness of doctors, midwives, nurses, dentists and chemists, and by forbidding uncertificated persons to practise any of these professions. Secondly it makes medical provision for poor patients, by appointing public doctors in every district. They attend also to the health of prisoners, and perform the medical work required by government generally. Thirdly, the State either provides or subsidises hospitals for ordinary sickness. It also provides public hospitals for infectious or contagious disease, and for the cure of inebriates, and also asylums for chronic invalids, for lepers, and for the insane.

Most governments also maintain laboratories for scientific research and for the manufacture of vaccine and prophylactic and curative sera of all kinds. The object of these

is partly one of prevention and partly one of cure.

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For reasons which will appear later when we discuss municipal government, the administration of the public health law is generally delegated as far as possible to local authorities, rural as well as urban, where these exist. As a matter of fact there are no rural authorities in South Africa except in the Cape Colony, which is therefore the only colony which has committed the sanitation of country districts to local bodies. But municipal government in some form or other has now been established in most of the principal towns in all the colonies; and all municipalities assume responsibility for their sanitary administration.

Health laws
mainly adminis-
tered through
medium of local
authorities.

At the same time we must recognise that there are certain duties connected with public health which cannot be entrusted to local authorities; either because the sphere of action is too wide, or for other reasons. Now in their case it will generally be found that the reasons which tell against complete localisation tell also against the imperfect localisation which now results from disunion; that is to say, the duties in question could be performed more cheaply and efficiently than at present if they were undertaken by a central government acting for the whole country. Clearly the duty of excluding disease from overseas ought as a matter of convenience and economy to be combined with the control of immigration and customs at the ports, which

Health duties
proper to na-
tional govern-
ment.

would certainly rest in the hands of the central government. The strong universal action of a national authority would also be needed if a dangerous epidemic like plague had gained a footing and threatened to infect all parts of the country. Again (just as was suggested in the case of lawyers and surveyors) it would be a great advantage to the public as well as to the professions if doctors, midwives, nurses, dentists, and chemists were examined and certificated by one authority for all South Africa. Hospitals for incurable patients and asylums for lunatics and lepers would be managed better and more cheaply by one government than by several. Indigent patients and lunatics often move from one colony to another without acquiring a domicile in any of them; and in such cases it is impossible to say which government ought to accept the cost of maintenance, and volumes of correspondence are wasted in endeavouring to settle such matters. The cost of lunatic asylums, like that of prisons, cannot be avoided; because the law compels the State to house certified lunatics whose friends cannot afford to maintain them in private. It is a serious and increasing charge which calls for careful supervision. Much money would be saved and it would be better for the health of the patients if such new asylums as are required were built near the coast. Again in dealing with persons chronically sick and still more with lunatics and lepers, it is proper as far as possible to separate the sexes and

racess of patients suffering from different forms and degrees of disease. This matter is of special importance in South Africa, where Europeans, natives, half-breeds and Asiatics have all to be treated. It is evident that one central government would be able to carry the process of classification much further than provincial governments in dealing only with the cases which come from their own areas. The problem of leprosy is peculiarly instructive. In this case little can be done for the unfortunate patients themselves, and the main object of segregation is to save the rest of the community from infection. At present the Cape and the Transvaal governments maintain asylums, and Natal maintains a kind of leper location. The Orange River Colony, which has hitherto sent its leper patients to the Cape asylum, now purposes to establish one of its own. But only the Cape Colony makes any serious attempt to search out and to deal with every case or suspected case in the country. The other self-governing colonies content themselves with isolating such patients as happen to come to their notice; and the rest of South Africa does little or nothing to cope with the mischief at all. If the Cape Colony were able to eradicate leprosy from its population, it would suffer the disappointment of seeing them soon re-infected from Basutoland, Bechuanaland or Natal. If the taint is ever to be banished from South Africa and its return prevented, the universal and continuous

action of a national government is absolutely necessary.

The governments of the Cape Colony, Natal and the Transvaal all maintain chemical and bacteriological laboratories; but nearly all the discoveries they make are of common utility to the whole country and ought to be paid for accordingly. At present it may happen that investigations into the efficacy of disinfectants, or the search for a serum for the cure of the virulent pneumonia which prevails, are being made entirely at the expense of one colony, while their results are available to another, which spends little or nothing at all on research. But the existing dislocation besides producing injustice produces positive waste. The money now spent on research by various governments could be applied to far better purpose in the hands of one central administration, which could direct the energies of the various enquirers so as to prevent overlapping. As matters stand, investigations conducted in two colonies may cover the same ground. Similarly vaccine and the various curative or preventive sera could be manufactured more cheaply in one than in several establishments. Exactly the same difficulty has presented itself and has been surmounted in India, where the central government has found itself compelled, in order to save waste of power and money, to assume a large measure of control over the provincial laboratories.

*Prevention of Poverty.*CHAP.
VII.

Beyond certain provisions for the benefit of orphans and destitute children, South Africa has no poor law, and no system of State relief. Each government sets aside a small sum for poor relief which it dispenses as occasion offers, through the agency of district magistrates, or benevolent societies, or special committees.

Methods of public relief.

We saw in the last chapter how the restrictions of caste, which impede Europeans from accepting rough labour at the wage which represents its market value, are rapidly operating to keep white men outside the industrial system altogether. The result is that South Africa is face to face with a problem of indigence of a peculiar kind, which she shares with a few other countries, like the southern states of the American republic, where white communities have endeavoured to found themselves on the basis of a coloured working class. This explains the extraordinary paradox presented by certain schemes of land settlement devised in the interests of the poorer whites. Governments in various parts of South Africa have spent and are still spending large sums of money, with small result, in trying to settle on the land, in a new and empty country, a class of men who were actually born to rural conditions. It is impossible to imagine the governments of either Canada or Australia saddled with such a class of helpless dependents. The most hopeful instance of this type

The problem of the poor whites and land settlement.

of land settlement is the one conducted by the Dutch Reformed Church, with the aid of a public subvention, at Kakamas in the Cape Colony, where families of poor whites have been placed on irrigated land, in the hope that the agencies of Church and State together may teach them by artificial exercise those habits of work which cannot develop naturally in a country which looks on toil as the stigma of a lower race. Similar schemes may be seen in operation under the control of government at Potchefstroom and Heidelberg in the Transvaal. At Middelburg, in the Transvaal, another settlement is conducted by the church, although the government provides the whole of the funds. Until recently these forced settlement projects were the only means by which governments attempted to solve the problems of white indigence: but with the past year or two endeavour has also been made to induce poor whites to accept rough labour on railway, municipal and mining works. How serious the difficulty is every South African is aware. This is not the place to endeavour to foreshadow its solution. We have already said enough in the last chapter to show that only a strong national administration can deal with a problem, which has its roots in a system pervading every part of the country and every department of its social life.

The savings
banks.

A valuable palliation of poverty is the encouragement of thrift. All the South African governments endeavour to do this

by establishing savings banks for the benefit of those whose means are too small to admit of their opening accounts at the ordinary commercial banks. Through the machinery of the post office and by the use of its general credit, the State can administer these banks with a degree of economy which no private corporation could hope to attain. All the savings banks pay their own expenses. We propose to show in a later chapter that the post office systems should themselves be centralised, and if this happens the amalgamation of the attendant savings banks would follow as a matter of course.

Prevention of Vice.

Leaving the question of poverty, we may The liquor laws. next turn to the efforts made by the State for the prevention of vice. Most of the laws framed with this object are administered by the ordinary agencies of the magistrates and police. The only exceptions are the laws relating to the sale of liquor, which require, for their administration, a special machinery of their own. In all the colonies the grant of licences to liquor dealers is entrusted to special courts, presided over by the resident magistrate. In the coast colonies these courts are partly elective. In the inland colonies they are wholly appointed by government, in order to free them from the influence of the local trade. In the coast colonies and the Transvaal, the principle of local op-

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tion is recognised, but not in the Orange River Colony. In the Cape Colony no licences are allowed in native locations or in areas proclaimed by the Governor. There are special licensing laws in the native territories, and no native or Asiatic may purchase liquor without a permit signed by the magistrate. In Natal, licences may only be granted in locations by written consent of the Secretary for Native Affairs, and the sale of liquor to Asiatics and natives is absolutely prohibited. In the inland colonies the law in regard to locations is similar to that in the Cape Colony, while the sale of liquor to or possession of liquor by all coloured persons as well as natives is prohibited.

Interest of a
central govern-
ment therein.

The large recognition accorded to the principle of local option in itself suggests that certain parts of the liquor administration may well be left to local control. But its wider problems certainly should not. The responsibility of a national government for customs, excise and the native question, which would necessarily devolve on a national government, would oblige it to retain an ultimate control over liquor legislation.

Education.

Reasons for
State interest in
education.

The most important and far-reaching of all agencies for the improvement of society is education. In primitive States or in those where the functions of government are in the hands of comparatively few persons, wide

differences of civilisation or knowledge between localities and individuals are of small account. The development of industrial and political life, however, increases the interdependence of the members of a community. The operations of society become less like those of a horde of savages, and more like those of a highly-trained army, which depend on each man's capacity to fill intelligently the part assigned to him. The more highly developed the State the higher is the standard of knowledge or intelligence required of each citizen if he is to play his part either as a political or as a productive force. For this purpose all modern States have practically arrived at a common minimum standard. This includes the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic, which are necessary to the humblest purposes of civilised life, as well as being keys to the knowledge which those must master who aspire to play a higher part.

Primary education, which usually engages the attention of a child from the age of six to thirteen or fourteen, may be taken as covering this common ground-work of knowledge. It comprises such training as will equip him for the simpler occupations of life, and at the same time gives him access to the more advanced attainments which he may have the capacity or opportunity to reach. Such further knowledge is provided by the higher branches of the educational system.

Primary education.

CHAP.
VII.Secondary edu-
cation.

By secondary education is meant the education which is higher than primary education, and is not given at a university. Practically it is that which a boy or girl may receive between the age of thirteen or fourteen and the age of eighteen.

University edu-
cation.

The university provides the crowning stage of the education which the individual can obtain in the form of regular instruction at the hands of others. In its completest form the university is a community for the pursuit of knowledge in all its aspects. A number of students assembled, not merely to acquire, but to practise and to advance the arts and sciences into which the whole field of knowledge is divided, are best able to see how they are related and where they unite. In giving an opportunity for such studies, a university is discharging its true functions; and it represents the last stage to which society can carry its efforts to train the faculties of the rising generation to their highest point, and to equip them for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. To prescribe courses of study, to examine students, and to mark their attainments by granting degrees are merely the secondary duties of a university.

How govern-
ments promote
education.

All modern governments are so far sensible of the importance of education to the well-being of their people that they systematically endeavour to further it in various ways. They may do so by making it compulsory within certain limits, by subsidising private

persons to establish schools, colleges and universities on approved lines, by establishing such institutions themselves, by training teachers and granting certificates to those qualified to teach in public schools, and by directing the content and form of the instruction given in them. In some cases government discharges these duties directly through its own officers. In others the actual administration is left to local bodies in the shape of boards and committees. The cost of education is defrayed from all or any of four sources—private benefactions, scholars' fees, and local or national taxation. In all cases the government is assisted by a staff of inspectors, whose duty it is to secure that the money provided from public sources is spent on the lines approved by the government, and to act as a link between the central authority, the local bodies and the schools.

We may now briefly review the institutions through the medium of which primary, secondary and university education is administered in South Africa. In this, as in other countries, where the population is widely scattered, primary education is costly and difficult to organise; because the radius of utility of each school is generally measured by the distance of the journey which children can traverse twice a day either on foot or with such transport as can be given them. In many country places the school is organised in the most central house available, government contributing to the salary of the teacher. Where-

Educational institutions in S.A. described. Primary schools.

CHAP.
VII.

ever 25 or 30 children can be assembled, a proper school building, with quarters for the teachers, and sometimes for the pupils, is supposed to be provided. Not seldom scholars are lodged at neighbouring houses. Country schools do not as a rule aim at imparting instruction in anything beyond the three rudiments of learning; but in primary schools in towns an attempt is usually made to lay the foundations of the other knowledge which is taught in secondary schools.

Secondary
schools.

In secondary or high schools, which are always situated in towns of some size, children who have passed through the primary stage can pursue their education to the point indicated by the matriculation examination of the Cape University, which we will shortly describe, and to an equally advanced point in subjects other than those required for matriculation.

University col-
leges.

Lastly, there are colleges which prepare young men to graduate at the university. Generally speaking, these colleges have begun life as secondary schools, and a few of them, though they have developed into institutions for the training of young men, continue to educate children in the lower classes. In some other instances they have retained, in the main, the character of secondary schools, but have developed a class at the top which aims at training older pupils for the higher university examinations. The evils of combining a school and a college system in a single institution are obvious. The theory of

university education is that a student has passed the stage of boyhood and can be treated almost as a man. In a composite institution he remains as an overgrown school boy, associating with boys and subject to boys' discipline. Moreover, if the institution is really a school and not a college, the staff and equipment needed for the higher teaching is often wanting. The instruction which such an institution gives is not really university education at all, but a make-shift. These defects are due to the scattered character of the population, and to financial needs which have driven existing institutions to attempt more than they can properly perform. But another cause lies in the conditions upon which matriculation has been permitted. For some time past there has been no age limit for matriculation, and smart boys can pass the examination at the early age of fifteen, and expect thereafter to be provided with college classes. All these causes have helped to obscure the clear line which ought to be drawn between high school and university education. These remarks have less application in the Cape Colony than elsewhere.

Turning now to technical education, we find in existence industrial schools for the training of craftsmen, and agricultural colleges where a practical and scientific knowledge of agriculture may be gained. These latter institutions are invariably conducted by the agricultural departments. There are also the special schools for destitute, defective

Technical edu-
cation.

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VII.

and deaf and dumb children, which aim at imparting a technical training in addition to elementary education.

Training of
teachers.

Finally, most governments recognise that the surest way of improving education is to improve the teachers; and for this purpose they maintain normal colleges which give instruction in the art and science of education and open a useful career to some hundreds of colonial-born youths and women.

Native educa-
tion.

So far we have spoken only of European education. The education of natives has been left to the agency of missions. They are assisted by government grants, and inspected exactly like the schools for whites. For the most part this instruction does not go beyond the primary stage. Some higher education is provided by the training schools for teachers, of which there are ten in the Cape Colony, all of them subsidised.

System of gov-
ernment control
in self-govern-
ing colonies.

The relations of the different colonial governments to these institutions may now be considered. In each of the four self-governing colonies the education department is usually controlled by the colonial secretary, as minister for the interior or for home affairs. His permanent lieutenant, entitled the director or superintendent of education, is assisted in his duties by an administrative staff resident at the seat of government, and by a staff of inspectors each of whom is in charge of a separate district. In Natal the education department deals directly with the person or committee responsible for each

private aided school, and administers the government schools through its own officers. In other colonies this work is done by local boards elected in each district, subject to the supervision of the education department.

Natal may be dealt with first as offering Natal. the simplest case. In the year 1906 there were some 514 schools supported by public funds. Of these 469 (including 163 farm schools) were schools built and administered from private funds, supplemented by contributions from government, and 45, being nearly all primary schools, were established and maintained by government itself. Education is not compulsory, and fees are charged in all schools, whatever their status. The private schools are aided by a capitation grant, which is subject to certain conditions respecting the fitness of buildings and equipment, the qualifications of the teachers, the course of studies and results attained. It is the duty of the inspectors to visit the schools, and to see that the conditions prescribed are complied with. In the case of the government's own schools the inspector is an administrative officer; he supervises their establishment and organisation, and acts as the link between the school staffs and the central office. In the aided schools government has no voice in the selection of individual teachers. English is the medium of instruction throughout the colony. Secondary education is provided partly by private schools and partly by government colleges and high

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The Cape Colony.

schools in Maritzburg and Durban. Maritzburg College for boys has established collegiate classes at the top of the school. An agricultural college is maintained on the model farm at Cedara.

The Cape Colony is divided into some 109 school districts, in which 78,044 white children and 95,909 coloured children are receiving education. In each district all the administrative work, as distinguished from the work of inspection, is undertaken by a board, the majority of whose members are elected by the ratepayers for each district, the rest being appointed by government. These boards are in turn assisted by advisory committees, who represent the parents of the children attending the school assigned to their supervision. It is the business of the board to administer the grant to the aided schools and to establish and to administer the public schools. The board may, subject to the approval of the education department, compel the attendance of European children within the district who live within three miles of a school, and fees are chargeable in all schools. Deficits are met, half by a contribution from the local authority raised by rates, and half by a grant from government. The government inspector's duty is to oversee the whole administration in his district, and to keep the central office informed as to the work of the boards. He also acts as the friendly adviser of the local boards and committees, and he is responsible to the government for

the vitality and efficiency of the system. The teachers are the servants of the boards, and their appointment and dismissal is initiated by the school committee, who forward their recommendation to the board. The board make their comments upon the proposal and forward them with a recommendation for the approval of the department, which declines to pay any grant in aid of a teacher's salary appointed without its approval. A teacher cannot be dismissed except by the board with the approval of the department. The medium of instruction is not definitely prescribed. High schools as well as primary schools are under the control of the boards. The university colleges, on the other hand, are controlled under their own constitutions, and are subsidised, like the schools, by government grants. These are the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, the South African College, Cape Town, the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, the Huguenot College, Wellington, and the Victoria College, Stellenbosch; and among these five a grant of about £18,000 is distributed. With the partial exception of Rondebosch, all of them that ever had school sections have practically dropped them. Pupils from many parts of South Africa obtain their education at these colleges. Several industrial schools, of which that at Uitenhage is the most important, are subsidised by government, and an agricultural college is maintained by the agricultural department at Elsenberg. Several institutions are

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The Orange
River Colony
and Transvaal.

also maintained by the education department for the training of teachers.

The educational systems of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal are modelled on the same outlines, with certain important variations. Members of the school boards, other than those appointed by the government, are elected in the Orange River Colony by the male inhabitants of each magisterial district, in the Transvaal by the parliamentary voters. The boards control the expenditure on certain specified items only. In both colonies education is free, but in the Orange River Colony one-sixth of the cost is provided by a poll-tax on every male adult. More can be raised in the form of a graduated income tax on the residents of the district, if this course is approved as the result of a referendum. In the Transvaal there is no kind of local contribution. In both colonies the teachers are the servants of the government. In the Orange River Colony the medium of instruction is English, but an equal amount of time is devoted to the teaching of Dutch and English as languages. In the Transvaal the medium of instruction is the native language of the pupil, but English is gradually introduced up to and including the third standard, beyond which the medium is English, though adequate provision must be made for instruction in the Dutch language. In the Transvaal high schools have hitherto been provided, either wholly by government with no contributions beyond the fees of the

pupils, or else by private organisations receiving no government assistance. Those receiving public funds are now supervised by the school boards. The Transvaal University College, which is practically the only collegiate institution in the colony, is established on lines similar to the independent colleges in the Cape Colony, and, like them, is subsidised by government. In the Orange River Colony the secondary schools are government institutions. Grey College does the work of a high school as well as of a university college, and it is administered by a special board appointed by the government. There are orphanages at Potchefstroom and Langlaagte in the Transvaal, which are likewise technical schools subsidised by government, and at Bloemfontein a hostel is maintained by the education department for boys who are apprenticed to trades under its supervision. The Transvaal is establishing an agricultural college on the model farm at Potchefstroom. Normal colleges for the training of teachers are maintained by both colonies.

The four educational systems are embodied with considerable detail in statutes and regulations. The foregoing summary shows that the few principles which they have in common are of a very general nature, and even where the meaning of the statutes is the same, it is expressed in very different terms.

The university of the Cape of Good Hope is an institution empowered to prescribe courses of study, to test students by examina-

Diversity of the
four systems.

The Cape Uni-
versity.

tion, and to declare and record their standard of attainment by conferring degrees. It is governed by a council of twenty, of whom half are appointed by the government and half are elected by convocation of the graduates of the university. The government grant amounts to over four thousand pounds a year, to which must be added contributions of four hundred pounds from Natal, three hundred from the Transvaal, and two hundred from the Orange River Colony, all of which colonies are represented on the university council. The university exercises a great influence on the course of studies followed in the schools and colleges which prepare students for its examinations. It has also certain functions in regard to the examinations required for admission to some of the professions, the surveyors' examination, the law examination, and the like. It derives its power from Cape statutes, and is incorporated under the name of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. Within the last year or two at least one of the neighbouring colonies has seriously entertained the idea of establishing a second university for itself. But the danger of creating two inferior universities instead of one good one was recognised in time; and an inter-colonial conference to discuss the subject was convened in Cape Town in February, 1908, under the auspices of the Cape University. At this conference the four self-governing colonies and Southern Rhodesia were represented. The delegates resolved that

one South African university, with constituent and affiliated colleges, ought to be established, and that the university of the Cape of Good Hope should be merged in the wider institution. They then proceeded to formulate a constitution providing for the government of the university, for the affiliation of colleges to it, and also for its revenues and powers.

Such, in brief outline, are the systems of primary, secondary and university education as they exist to-day in the four self-governing colonies. We will now consider the probable bearing upon them of the union of the colonies under one supreme government. In many of their leading features the systems of primary education differ radically, and it would be difficult indeed for a single national government to take them over and to administer them as they stand. Their financial provisions alone are incompatible. If the control of the existing systems were transferred to a central government the Transvaal parent would obtain primary education for his child at the sole cost of the taxpayer, while in neighbouring colonies the parents or taxpayers would all be contributing in varying degrees. On the other hand, the establishment of one uniform system would probably be a task which no central government would feel inclined to attempt without some years of experience and study. Any system of national education involves a mass of administrative detail, and also requires a nice adjust-

Difficulties of
centrallising ad-
ministration.

ment of those details to the conditions and prejudices of each locality. All the colonies but Natal have already delegated much of this detail to local authorities. It is safe to say that in a country of any size a system of primary education administered entirely from the centre would become too rigid; and the future educational system of united South Africa will probably do well to leave the local communities a wide latitude in detail.

Aspects of education demanding national control.

If, on the other hand, the principles laid down in the opening pages of this section are correct, it follows that no one locality should be suffered to fall far behind the others in the standard of education it imposes, and that some authority should be in a position to see that this does not happen. Few civilised countries attain the same high standard of education as the United States of America. Few, on the other hand, fall to so low a level as some of the constituent States such as North Carolina. But owing to the terms of the constitution the federal government can do nothing to correct this inequality, beyond collecting and publishing information to show that it exists.

"With indefiniteness of aim and lack of central guidance or control, it is not surprising to find enormous discrepancies in the methods. Each State makes its own laws and regulations, and though some are sufficiently alike that they can be grouped, there is no uniformity, even in primary and essential points." [Shadwell's *Industrial Efficiency*, Vol. II., p. 385.]

In Canada also the endeavours of the national government to introduce military train-

ing into the primary schools have been seriously hampered by the fact that their administration is entirely in the hands of the provincial governments. These striking examples suggest that the English system presents the sounder model. Under it the schools are administered by the county councils and county boroughs, but the central government provides part of the cost and reserves the right to prescribe the curriculum, to insist on certain standards of efficiency, and to control the system as a whole.

In the sphere of higher education, as we have already noticed, the distinction between schools providing secondary education for boys who have finished their primary course, and university colleges where young men are preparing themselves for degrees, is not always drawn with sufficient clearness. In other words, classification of schools cannot be carried as far as is desirable, a result certain to follow while each colony is attempting to equip itself on a national scale. So long as these conditions obtain, inefficiency and waste go hand in hand, a truth set forth with unmistakable clearness in the closing resolution of the conference of February last.

**Need for stricter
classification.**

“This conference is of opinion that the number of independent institutions preparing students for university degrees in South Africa is greater than the need requires, and that the organisation of such work is in consequence difficult and uneconomical; and this conference recommends that the co-operation or union of the present university colleges be encouraged and the multiplication of such colleges in the future be discouraged.”

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Reasons for centralisation in training of teachers.

The Cape government alone is spending £37,000 a year on the training of teachers, an object essential to any great system of public education and always costly. But the teachers trained by one government are only bound to it for two years; and it has no guarantee that after that period the teacher may not be enticed away by one of its neighbours, which chooses to spend less on training and more on salaries. The experience of England shows that this is no imaginary danger. The British government, anxious to unburden the central treasury, has assigned the duty of training teachers to the county councils; and these bodies are now finding it impossible to secure to themselves the benefit of the services of the teachers for whose training they have paid.

Need for a teaching and residential university.

In one respect the existing scheme of South African education is conspicuously lacking. There is no university in the full meaning of the word. It is true that the Cape university prescribes courses of study, tests students by examination and declares and records their standard of efficiency by conferring degrees, and that all the colonies make use of its services. But it is not a community of learning where enquirers, teachers and students are gathered together for the pursuit of knowledge, such as may be seen in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. Centres of education such as Grahamstown or Stellenbosch would come nearer to university life if the pupils were older, and if more attention was paid to original research.

The fact that the recent conference has formulated a scheme for a national university is so much gain, if only because the principle of concentration is affirmed in its resolutions. But those resolutions do not indicate, far less discuss, the legal steps necessary to give effect to them. Although the degrees of the Cape university are recognised by letters patent, its legal powers, as well as its name, are derived from statutes of the Cape legislature. How then, under present political conditions, can the university of the Cape of Good Hope be transformed into the university of South Africa? The legislatures of neighbouring colonies may recognise its degrees and may confer certain privileges on the holders. They may authorise contributions to its funds and the appointment of delegates to its governing body. All this indeed they have done in the past, in virtue of the Cape Colony Act 6 of 1886, which authorised the Governor to appoint to the university council representatives of such colonies or states as are willing to make an adequate contribution to its chest. But none of these things alter the provincial character of the present examining body in Cape Town. Pending the establishment of a national parliament the only possible course is for the Cape legislature to pass an act providing for the establishment of the university of South Africa in the place of the university of the Cape of Good Hope, and suspending the operation of the scheme until such time as the Governor was satisfied that all the

Legal difficulty
of giving effect
to conference
resolutions.

other colonies concerned agreed to provide the necessary funds. But even so the university of South Africa would depend for its legal existence upon a statute of one colony only. This is no mere defect of form. The governments of the neighbouring colonies cannot bind their successors in perpetuity to vote the necessary funds on their annual estimates, and every time the agreements expire or come up for revision the whole question of partnership will be re-opened. National institution though it be, the university will depend on the most unstable of all foundations, the capacity of five independent parliaments to act and legislate as though they were one. Sooner or later its promoters will find that unity of national thought or action is no more to be gathered from political division than grapes of thorns or figs of thistles.

These difficulties
removable only
by national
union.

The conference rendered another good service by declaring that research is one of the most important functions of a university, and thereby recognising that a true university is something more than a board which ascertains the proficiency of students in certain studies prescribed in its syllabus. But it is greatly to be feared that those who aspire to erect a true university upon existing foundations will find their strength wasted and their labours multiplied at every turn so long as they have to deal with five communities and five governments. With the establishment of a national legislature and purse the realisation of the true ideal would no longer be an

idle dream. No doubt there are great practical difficulties. The existing colleges may be organised in one system of study and examination; but separated as they are by hundreds of miles, they cannot be united by the bonds of mutual intercourse and common intellectual tradition. But it is not inconceivable that they might be adapted to serve the growing needs of secondary education, and that with the new enthusiasm that attends great national developments, there might come into being—preferably in the Cape peninsula—a true university, a genuine community of learning and research. Nor is it to be forgotten that as soon as a national government is established it will find itself in possession of a site, well suited to this and to other of its public needs. In an earlier chapter we saw how Rhodes apprehended the dangers menacing the frontiers of South Africa, and by his rapid and resolute action secured for her half the dominions which her commonwealth is destined to embrace. The same eye, that looked to the vast and mysterious regions of the north, was not unmindful of the landscape beneath the citadel of precipice and crag that crowns her southern gate. Even while he was saving Rhodesia he rescued from the builders one great face of Table mountain, and bequeathed it to the country, which he had figured in his mind, but was never to see united as one. Here is a national inheritance, which the genius of an artist has conspired with nature and memory

to enrich. But whatever be the exact site chosen for a South African university, what surroundings can compare with those of the Cape of Good Hope for lifting the minds of future generations to a sense of that which is due from them to their country, and to the larger society of which it is a part? The peninsula with its bays and promontories is something more than the storied and beautiful porch of South Africa. Its summit is one of the high places of empire, a corner beacon of the world itself, for round its base the currents of two oceans and two hemispheres meet.

The next instalment will deal with the following subjects: communications, including shipping, lighthouses, ports, roads, railways, posts and telegraphs; and the promotion of industry, including agriculture, fisheries, mining and manufactures.

VII.—DEFENCE AND POLICE.

Owing to the fact that the Police forces in several of the Colonies are being re-organised it has been decided to hold over this Statement until the revised figures can be given.

VIII.—NATIVE EDUCATION.

STATEMENT showing Native Taxation and Expenditure on
Native Education in various South African Colonies and
Territories.

COLONY OR TERRITORY.	Native popula- tion.	Esti- mated No. of native scholars.	Percent- age of native popula- tion in schools.	Public expendi- ture on native educa- tion.	Rate per head of grant to scholars.	Amount contribu- ted by domiciled natives in direct taxation.
				£	s. d.	£
Cape Colony ...	1,424,787	60,451	4·24	47,657	15 9	105,241
Natal	904,041	10,154	1·12	7,265	14 4	162,193
Orange River Colony	235,466	6,500	2·76	1,800	5 6	42,803
Transvaal	811,753	11,683	1·44	5,000	8 7	280,269
Labourers tem- porarily resi- dent.	133,745	...	...	...	...	...
Southern Rhodesia	570,830	334	·05	154	9 3	100,806
Labourers tem- porarily resi- dent.	20,367	...	...	...	...	...
Basutoland ...	347,731	10,484	3·01	7,000	13 5	60,528
Bechuanaland Pro- tectorate.	119,411	1,000	·83	500	10 0	10,566

IX.—EXPENDITURE ON CENSUS, APRIL, 1904.

COLONY OR TERRITORY.				EXPENDITURE.		TOTAL.
				Printing and stationery.	Other.	
				£	£	£
Cape Colony	...	...	...	3,600	46,225	49,825
Natal	...	...	...	2,582	10,765	13,347
Orange River Colony	...	...	...	1,836	4,693	6,529
Transvaal	...	...	...	} 9,721	69,854	79,575
Swaziland	...	...	...
Southern Rhodesia	...	...	...	149	289	438
Basutoland	...	...	...	10	989	999
Bechuanaland Protectorate	...	...	...	...	...	155
			£	...	...	150,868

X.—THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

BY

W. L. HONNOLD.

While it is true that the American negro question can only be understood in its full significance by those familiar with the racial characteristics of the African native, it is equally true that in considering the future of the latter much may be gained through acquaintance with the history and present condition of the race in the United States. In fact, the two lines of inquiry are so complementary that it is doubtful if a sound policy could be arrived at in either country without taking into account experience in the other. Certainly the mistakes made in America have resulted largely through disregard of African antecedents, and, although we in Africa may properly claim greater familiarity with fundamental circumstances, it is not impossible that, through failure to grasp their full ethnological significance, we may repeat to some extent, but with more far-reaching consequences, similar mistakes. Even though we should feel inclined to minimise this danger, it is still worth our while, if but for confirmatory evidence alone, to follow the native to America and note the effects of an environment which, if open to criticism, has on the whole, probably been more favourable to him than may be hoped for here.

Questions of purely American import need not be touched on except in so far as they may bear on racial characteristics.

In the main, the evolutionary lines of inquiry adopted by *Tillinghast will be followed, and an attempt will be made to give due weight to the influence of both heredity and environment. It is unnecessary to dwell on the relative importance of these two influences, except to recall that character is neither born nor made, but a subtle compound of both inherited and acquired traits. It may be modified to a varying extent by environment, but new qualities thus acquired are not necessarily permanent; for each succeeding generation there is danger of reversion, and it is only under circumstances of exist-

* The Negro in Africa and America, by Joseph A. Tillinghast, M.A.

ence so exacting as to lead to elimination of the unstable that there is a chance for that continued transmission of acquired virtues so essential to the gradual building-up of enduring character.

Such circumstances have not surrounded the negro. Whatever his primal origin may have been, it is certain that for ages his home has been in Africa, and his character moulded by tropical conditions. This was especially true of the West Coast natives from whom the American stock came; and, although for hundreds of years following migration from the north our own natives have had the correcting climatic influence of this latitude and elevation, it is doubtful if they show sufficiently marked progress to justify discussion from a different standpoint, especially so if we bear in mind the selective influences brought to bear on the American slaves.

At the time of transportation two racial types were distinguishable on the West Coast, the Bantu of Lower Guinea and the Sudanese of Upper Guinea. The points of difference, however, were slight, and we may take it that there was practical agreement in all particulars important to this discussion, not only as between these two types but also as between them and the Bantu of South Africa.

It is therefore unnecessary to go into particulars as to their characteristics. We need only briefly recall that they were at a stage of development somewhat advanced beyond nomadic savagery toward settled agriculture. Their physique was good, but there was little evidence of mental progress. In fact, it would seem that for thousands of years they had been more or less in a state of arrested mental development. They had no letters, arts or sciences; their industries were most elementary; religion was crudely anthropomorphic, and language in the agglutinative stage. Psychically they were analogous to children of more advanced races; spontaneity, intuition, and imitativeness were strong characteristics, but there was a general lack of application, inventiveness, and reasoning power. They were notably improvident, and universally lacking in sustained energy. And, what is of most significance, they were peculiarly deficient in will-power, that attribute so essential to stability of purpose, staying qualities, and self-control.

There is nothing in this characterisation that can be regarded with surprise or question. It is but a reflection of the environment, and could be arrived at with equal certainty through inductive reasoning. For ages these people had comparatively little inducement either to industrial efficiency or mental advancement. Tropical surroundings had not only tended to minimise their

requirements as to food, clothing, and habitation, but also to simplify the satisfaction of these demands. Furthermore, the climatic conditions, involving as they did excessive heat and humidity for the greater part of the year, had been distinctly inimical to industrial and mental effort, as well as to the exercise of will power. In other words, the struggle for existence had been along such simple lines, and after so spiritless a fashion that there was little chance for the correcting influence of the law of natural selection. Consequently, the standard of development was not only low, but, what is of most vital importance, it had continued so through such generations of time as to fix in the race a fundamental ineptitude for progress, a trait which has stubbornly resisted the more favourable environments of America and South Africa, and promises to be of grave significance in the future.

Let us now consider these people as influenced by transference to America.

Their introduction as slaves was in the beginning regarded as merely a temporary expedient to overcome a shortage of labour similar to that experienced in most colonies. At first they were used throughout the country; gradually, however, as white immigration increased in the north, but more especially because the economic conditions in that section were less favourable to their use, they were for the most part concentrated in the southern colonies, and continued there, a fixed institution, for over two hundred years.

The influences incidental to the change from West Africa were of mixed significance. On the one hand, although the negroes have always been a decreasing element in the total population of the United States, dropping from 19.3 per cent. in 1790 to 11.6 per cent. in 1900, the degree to which they have been subject to the influences consciously or unconsciously exerted by their white superiors has in the main been much less than suggested by these percentages; for, in the eighteen Southern States which now include about nine-tenths of them they still form about one-third of the population, and in two instances slightly over one-half. Furthermore, in considering the bearing of the American environment, it must be remembered that, although the slave trade was nominally suppressed in 1808, it was not until 1863 that it actually came to an end; therefore, there was always present a certain retroactive influence, due to the admixture of fresh African blood, which tended to offset advancement already made. Also, we have to bear in mind those adverse psychological influences inseparable from the institution of slavery even under the most humane circumstances. On the other

hand, there were a number of circumstances incidental to transplanting which could not but exert a strong influence for the betterment of so immature a people. Not only were they freed in large measure from the irresistible control of their old environment, but, what is of more significance, they were at once brought into contact with powerful constructive influences of a favourable nature. Amongst these may be mentioned the conscious efforts made by owners to improve the general standard, as well as the unconscious and more natural forces of example and suggestion which were brought to bear and could not but act with peculiar power on so imitative and susceptible a race. The bearing of these various forces, and the degree to which they came into play, are questions of such vital importance that we may with advantage refer to them in some detail. First, let us consider the two influences acting directly on germ heredity, Selection and Amalgamation.

Selection is more or less an accompaniment of all migration. If the movement be voluntary, it may be assumed for each class of participants that as a rule it will be of somewhat superior physical and psychological development. On the other hand, if migration be enforced, there will also be selection, but it will vary as to trend and degree according to attending circumstances. In the case of the American slaves there was probably as drastic an application of this principle, especially as to physique, as has ever been known. Not only were they collected under conditions practically precluding the unfit, but, before shipment they were submitted to most rigid inspection in order to minimise transportation losses, and, following this, were subjected to the rigours of a passage which led to still further elimination; consequently, in the end, the physique of the stock landed in America was distinctly superior to the standard of West Africa. A certain number were no doubt somewhat broken in health after so much hardship, but even they must have been of such innate soundness as to assure an early recovery of at least congenital vigour. As to the psychic effect of these experiences, there is ground for difference of opinion. No doubt, in the first instance, some of the more adept escaped capture; as against this, however, we have to recall that amongst primitive races mental and physical excellence are as a rule concomitant. It would seem that we may at least go so far as to say that the mental and moral standard of the American importation was equal to the average of West Africa. On arriving in America further selective influences were brought to bear. Not only did masters control with more or less

deliberation and success the relations of the sexes from both the physical and mental standpoint, but also, by the practice of "selling South" bad or lazy characters, they at once raised the standard of the border States, and, incidentally, subjected the undesirables to the harsher control of the far South, where either improvement or extermination was inevitable. The question naturally arises whether along with these selective influences for good there were not others of equal or greater importance of an adverse character. Was the change not calculated to make better slaves than citizens? In other words, did the African native under the conditions of his introduction into America have a fair chance for the development of mental vigour, self-reliance, will-power and the other essential attributes of racial progress? The answers would involve reference to influences apart from selection which still remain to be discussed, and, therefore, to a large extent, would be anticipatory. It may, however, be noted in passing that opinion on this matter will inevitably be influenced by the point of view. Those who have no exact knowledge of primitive races, especially if they be of large humanity, will readily minimise inherited characteristics and jump to the conclusion that, since slavery is in principle inimical to the development of character, therefore it must have operated seriously against the advancement of the American negro. There is unquestionably much of abstract truth in this contention, and, undoubtedly, slavery under any circumstances falls far short of being an ideal institution. At the same time, those who know the negro most intimately cannot lose sight of his comparative immaturity, and of the fact that, under any possible circumstances of association, the white man must inevitably, in the beginning at least, assume a paternal attitude toward him. In view of this fundamental inequality, as well as because of the fact that from the standpoint of acquired congenital characteristics the time spent in slavery was comparatively short, it is easy to understand why many arrive at the conclusion that, on the whole, much more of good than of bad influence was involved.

With regard to the other directly hereditary influence, that is, amalgamation, it should be noted that this was of two kinds; legitimate, as between pure-blooded negroes, and illegitimate, as between whites and blacks. The first was natural, and probably on the whole beneficial, involving as it did the blending of various closely allied tribes until in the end there was practical homogeneity. The second was exclusively as between the white male and coloured female, was general but by no means universal, and, at the beginning of the war,

had extended so as to influence between twenty and thirty per cent. of the race. At present between eleven and sixteen per cent. are believed to have some degree of white blood. In considering the bearing of this form of amalgamation it seems permissible to make some allowance for the fact that in some cases it was in a limited sense natural, and, therefore, more apt to exert a favourable influence than that which has continued since slavery, and that which obtains in this country. For, before the war, the relation between the two races was radically different from what it is now. Then the association of whites and blacks was frequently of lifelong significance, overlapping in many instances from generation to generation, especially in the household of the master. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that a certain degree of intimacy and sympathy should exist between the youth of the two races which, although not altering their relative social status, was distinctly favourable, especially in view of the innate sensuality of the negro, to cohabitation without, necessarily, an accompanying sense of depravity, and therefore, in some instances at least, without unnatural prejudice to the progeny. No doubt the resulting modifications reflect for the most part the engrafted qualities of the white overseer class, but it is also probable that to some extent an element of gentility was introduced. One can only surmise as to the ultimate bearing of this factor. The notable negro leaders may reflect its influence to a greater degree than is commonly recognised, and, since the hope of the race is in its own leaders, it may be that, in the final analysis, this transient factor, operating in conjunction with the law of survival, will be acknowledged as of considerable importance. Be this as it may, we still have to recognise that on the whole, and apart from notable exceptions, amalgamation as between whites and blacks has been unfavourable to the race. This is particularly true as regards physique and fertility, authorities agreeing that in these respects mulattoes show distinct evidence of degeneracy. On the other hand, from a psychic standpoint, there is marked evidence of improvement, mulattoes unquestionably showing greater intellectual capacity, artistic sense, and nervous energy, accompanied too frequently, however, by a decline in moral vigour and resolution. To what extent these latter disadvantages may in time be overcome is a question which only the future can determine. For the present one may only say that, notwithstanding the more prominent and successful coloured people of to-day are mulattoes, a fact to be kept in mind when considering the capacity of the pure-blooded African, white amalgamation, more particularly the Negro-

Teutonic type, has so far not worked for the general advancement of the coloured race. Certainly there is an absence of that marked improvement so notable where less divergent races have amalgamated.

Let us next consider the environmental influences brought to bear on the negro during slavery. First, we have to note a radical improvement in physical surroundings. Climate in particular was distinctly more favourable. It is true that in the Gulf States summer heat is sometimes extreme: but it is never continuous over long periods, and is not accompanied to so great a degree by excessive humidity and other enervating circumstances as in West Africa. In fact, even in these least favoured States, conditions are clearly not inimical to a progressive white civilisation. Therefore, we must conclude that taken altogether the climate of America, with its varying seasons and activities, could not but have exerted a most beneficial influence both on the negroes' physical influence and psychic nature. In addition to climate, the conditions as to food, clothing, housing, medical care and sanitation were all more favourable to racial advancement than those formerly known. It is impossible under the circumstances to refer in particular to the nature and bearing of these various factors, although it may be noted that any uncertainty as to their favourable character is answered by the fact that the race consistently multiplied at a rate corresponding to that of the whites. There was no evidence of that tendency to elimination which has so frequently been evidenced where inferior peoples have come into close touch with civilisation. This fact, after all, is the determining one as to whether the physical environment of America was favourable to survival and therefore to advancement.

With regard to the industrial features of the American environment under slavery, we find more complicated conditions, for we have to study the permanent significance of enforcing on the black man the activities of the white. That enforcement was necessary needs no explanation here. We are all familiar with the African's industrial traditions, and know how opposed they are to our own. Habits of action which we naturally adopt in unconscious obedience to a high standard of public opinion, the outgrowth of generations of thrifty and progressive ancestry, offer little attraction to the African native with his radically-opposed inheritance. Even here in Africa, where the native in return for compensation of uncommon significance is disposed to compromise his industrial conceptions for short periods of time, we find it necessary as a rule to exercise close supervision and a varying degree of pressure in order

to get but inadequate service. It is therefore not difficult to understand that under American slavery, implying as it did both permanent control and profitable exploitation of the race, still greater constraint was necessary. This, admittedly, was not always wisely exerted, although it should be borne in mind that the self-interest of the owner, acting in accordance with long experience, and with regard for the value of his slave property present and prospective, would naturally have inclined him to protect and train the negro, and, even in his harshness, to enforce standards of conduct on the whole favourable to advancement. But, apart from these considerations, we have to recognise in the system certain inherent industrial defects, amongst which was failure suitably to reward effort. This naturally led to the elimination in large measure of all incentives to service except fear or personal attachment, and consequently there was lacking one of the most powerful motives of racial progress. On the other hand, it is open to question whether, in the absence of those higher motives influencing the industrial attitude of the white man, the negro's advancement would have been more marked under less restricted conditions and in open competition with the white race. Certainly he would have been greatly handicapped by his natural heedlessness and aversion to sustained effort. It is, of course, impossible to measure the relative significance of all the industrial influences which came into play, but we may with profit recall their results as roughly reflected by the four classes which gradually evolved. First came the field hands, by far the largest class numerically, who were confined to more or less monotonous labour under close supervision, and who, aside from the acquirement of a limited degree of industrial proficiency, showed but little advance in enlightenment. From this class were recruited the three upper classes; therefore, it suffered somewhat through the retroactive influences of selection. The second class included mechanics of various degrees of importance. Although relatively small in numbers, it is interesting as showing, at least to some extent, capacity of a sort quite incompatible with the race's former experience. Its standard of efficiency, however, was comparatively low, and it was always marked by carelessness and abuse in the handling of material and tools. The third class, including house and body servants, was of greater importance numerically than the second, and is of particular interest because of the comparatively close and intimate relationship which existed between it and the whites. Unquestionably it showed considerable advancement in skill, as well as in refinement, but its standard of efficiency was, on the

whole, low, and, generally speaking, it was much more important numerically than it would have been under a system of free white labour. The fourth class, made up of the few who had advanced to positions of trust and executive responsibility, is perhaps of most interest and importance to us. It included in some instances picked men, who dealt directly with the master and exercised the usual functions of the customary white overseer, but more generally was represented by those acting as sub-overseers. In all cases, however, it reflected marked superiority and exceptional capacity. It was, of course, the outcome of most exacting selection, but, nevertheless, it served to indicate and emphasise the possibilities of the race at its best. Taking these classes as a whole, we can only say that, whilst there was abundant evidence of progress, still the American negro at the close of his slavery was distinctly inferior in competing power to the white. The degree of his inferiority cannot be accurately assessed. Olmstead, after careful comparisons, estimated it at 50 per cent., and, even where the task system prevailed, as it did in some States, he found that, although more energy and intelligence were shown, the standard of task was still comparatively low. In explanation of this inefficiency the same observer notes that, notwithstanding a generally contented and cheerful attitude, similar no doubt to that of our native labour here, there was everywhere lack of interest, failure to appreciate objective, and a disposition to regard labour as unnatural and unwarranted. He further notes that in consequence there was on all sides evasion of every conceivable sort, and such indifference to the care of tools and live-stock as to limit their employment to the varieties best calculated to withstand misuse and ill-treatment. The significance of these restrictions need not be dwelt upon. The question naturally arises, To what extent were these industrial deficiencies due to the system of slavery? Unquestionably, the institution is deficient in many respects. Even when practised under the most beneficent circumstances, and restricted to an immature race, its favourable features could probably be better realised under a system of humanely directed apprenticeship. But still, we have to bear in mind that the bad characteristics referred to were not developed in America. Indolence, carelessness, improvidence, deceitfulness, and thoughtless cruelty were all primitive attributes. They did not evolve under slavery, and they have not disappeared since its abolition. In this connection the opinion of Tillinghast is of interest. He says: "We must conclude that while our institution of slavery was ill-adapted in some ways to root out elements of undeveloped character, yet it

did not bring them into existence. That they persisted was due to the mighty force of race heredity, obscurely but irresistibly dominating negro life at every point. Environmental influences, whether for good or evil, may effect much, but what we have just seen is a revelation of man's powerlessness to set aside a fundamental law of nature. With this law must reckon the American negro, and the nation of which he is a part."

Before discussing the changes which came into the life of the negro as a free citizen it may be well to refer to the bearing of the religious, social and psychic influences which surrounded him during his days of slavery.

The contrast between his primitive religion and that to which he was introduced in America was as profound as can be conceived. In Africa his religion was one of kras or localised spirits of human limitation, fetishes and witchcraft, and its exercise was chiefly directed toward specific propitiation in one form or another. It dealt principally with natural phenomena, and involved but slight comprehension of morality or social obligation. From an environment permeated with such conceptions he was uprooted and brought into contact with the exalted ideas of the white man. The change was abrupt, and perhaps its negative influences were of even greater significance, for some time at least, than the positive efforts to Christianise which were encountered. It must be remembered, however, that the negative influences incidental to removal from the old environment could not operate so effectively as they would have done had the change taken place in childhood. And it is hardly necessary to mention that the first Christian agencies which came into force were more destructive than constructive. Certain superstitions, preconceptions, and practices were voluntarily abandoned on recognition of the obviously superior conceptions of the dominant race; others, especially those of an injurious tendency, had to be overcome by discouragement and prohibition. But, sooner or later, the constructive influences of Christianity were brought to bear, although with varying force and effect according to the inclination of the master and the receptiveness of the different types and classes. The results left much to be desired, for naturally with such a people and such circumstances there was but an imperfect conception and application of the principles taught, but, on the whole, the influence of this factor was uplifting and helpful, and in the direction of a faith immeasurably more comforting and sustaining than that of primitive Africa.

From the social standpoint also there was a radical departure from former conceptions and conditions. The old environment, which called for little self-control,

obligation, or co-operation, was suddenly replaced by one characterised by mental and moral restraint, mutual regard, concurrent action, and all the complex relations of a high civilisation. To what extent did the negro respond? And was his failure to further respond due more to the faults of slavery or to innate limitations as to instinct and capacity? These questions are vital and full of interest, but can be little more than suggested. Furthermore, their full significance becomes apparent only when they are made to include the subsequent history of the race. For the present we need only touch on a few of them. With regard to marriage and chastity the position was undoubtedly a difficult one. To start with, there was but a loose conception in the minds of the slaves as to sex relations. All their ideas were the outcome of generations of licentiousness and disregard of monogamic marriage. Consequently, the difficulties of the whites in enforcing new standards could be but imperfectly overcome. A great deal was accomplished, especially amongst the house-servant and other superior classes, and, although it was never possible to secure a regard for chastity even approximating that of the whites, still, on the whole, and in spite of many adverse circumstances, there was very notable improvement in this respect as compared with West Africa. In the matter of family relations the conditions of slavery were especially unfavourable, and it is not strange that advancement in this phase of life was possibly less marked than in any other direction. Naturally, the race was without any strong sense of parental devotion or responsibility; therefore, it was particularly unfortunate that the circumstances of service, requiring as they did prolonged absence of both father and mother from the family, offered little chance for the development of such attributes. It is true that this did not often involve great sense of hardship, and, beyond momentary lamentation, there was as a rule a notable indifference to separation, the tragedies of Uncle Tom's Cabin notwithstanding. On the other hand, it is unquestionable that in some instances, more especially amongst those coming into close touch with the whites, there was increasing evidence of affection and concern. One cannot but wonder as to the effect on the negro's subsequent history had this aspect of life been more generally encouraged during the race's first contact with civilisation. At the same time it should not be overlooked that naturally the African native is rather inclined to communal group life than to that of the family. In the wider and more general relationships of society there was evident improvement over former standards, although, as would be expected, it was more noticeable

among the better classes. A considerable and increasing number developed into trustworthy men of broad sympathies and a controlling sense of responsibility and duty to others. As a rule, however, these characteristics were lacking, and in their place were the petty traits of an immature society.

From the psychic or temperamental standpoint there was but little change in essential character under slavery. The natural predisposition of the race to an emotional, talkative, irresponsible and heedless existence was not materially affected; and throughout bondage the negro continued careless and gay, delighting in gaudy display, a frolic or a crowd, and either indifferent to hardship and misfortune or else readily forgetting them after momentary grief. Some may urge that, since developing intelligence is inimical to the institution of slavery, and since the natural aim of owners would be to discourage educational influences, therefore but little opportunity was offered for the correction of adverse temperamental tendencies. There is a measure of truth in this contention, but, along with it, we have to recognise that the tendencies referred to were fundamental rather than engrafted, and so were not open to the correcting influence of learning to the same extent as in the case of a more advanced race. One has only to look to Africa, or to America since the war, to see the fallacy of the assumption that the negro's weakness can be corrected by literary culture alone. And it is now generally admitted that, to be of real benefit, his education must be accompanied, if not overshadowed, by training of a manual nature, especial attention being given to inculcating appreciation of objective labour as the necessary first step in racial progress. The slave owner, therefore, in minimising educational influences did not enforce an unmixed evil. In fact, there is reason to think, from what followed after freedom, that if education, as then understood, had been attempted, its influence on the whole would have been derogatory. In a broad way, of course, education was proceeding, for notwithstanding illiteracy and the restraints surrounding him, the negro was steadily learning the important first lessons of civilisation. He was, therefore, at the close of slavery, much better fitted than his brother in Africa to face the new circumstances under which we are now to consider him.

Generally speaking, the change to freedom was much less radical than that of introduction to America. Environment remained substantially the same, and continued its favourable influences in opposition to the retroactive forces of heredity. The essential change was as to relationship to environment. There was now free-

dom of opportunity, and the restraint and compulsion of the master were replaced by the surveillance of the law and the severities of the struggle for existence. To the older generation, the force of habit was sufficient to prevent radical departure from the established order of thought and action. It was the younger generation that was to be tried most severely by the new order, and it is with its experiences and those of its successors that we are most concerned.

We have seen that from an industrial standpoint considerable progress had been shown under slavery, but that, as regards efficiency, the negroes were still far behind the white race, and, we may add, were losing rather than gaining ground in their aggregate competitive influence. Whether or not this position should be attributed more to inherited characteristics, as has been suggested, than to those of an acquired nature, as is frequently urged, is a question that cannot be definitely decided, although, possibly, individual opinion may be assisted by the following considerations. In the first place, we have to recognise that different opinions as to the negro's importance as a worker may be largely due to differences as between employers, as well as between employments. Some employers are unqualified or temperamentally unfit to manage crude labour, and some industries are better suited than others for the utilisation of such labour. These points are well understood here, but it may be of interest to recall American experience bearing on them, as well as on the broader questions of the inherent capacity of negroes for industrial life. Where success has attended their employment in that country, it has been along lines quite different from those followed in the case of white labour. The strictest discipline has been enforced, indulgencies have been discouraged, and, generally speaking, the attitude of the successful employer has been one of firm and exacting paternalism. A more lenient policy, or one relying on the ordinary incentives of the white man to labour, has, as a rule, failed, the naturally irresponsible and improvident disposition of the negroes resulting under these circumstances in such badly-directed and inconstant service as to disqualify them from competition with more expensive white labour. The general bearing of this inherently unprogressive spirit is reflected by the fact that staple crops of the Southern States have decreased in quantity where the negro population has held its own or gained in relative numbers; whereas, they have shown steady improvement where the influence of the whites has been in the ascendancy. Inefficiency is also reflected by the decreasing importance of the race in skilled trades, which are particularly reliable

as an index of character because of the demand they make for patient and uninterrupted service. Such occupations do not appeal to the negro of the younger generation, and, even when following them, his inclination is to work the minimum time consistent with bare subsistence, and to utilise every opportunity for idleness and the search for an easier job. Consequently, in this most important direction, the race has, at least temporarily, failed; as Booker Washington, whose sympathies, cannot be questioned, puts it: "The place made vacant by the old coloured man, who was trained as a carpenter during slavery, and who since the war had been the leading contractor and builder in the Southern town, had to be filled. No young coloured carpenter, capable of filling his place, could be found. The result was that his place was filled by a white mechanic from the North, or from Europe, or from elsewhere. What is true of carpentry and house building in this case is true, in a degree, in every skilled occupation; and it is becoming true of common labour. I do not mean to say that all skilled labour has been taken out of the negro's hands; but I do mean to say that in no part of the South is he so strong in the matter of skilled labour as he was twenty years ago, except possibly in the country districts and smaller towns. In the more northern of the southern cities, such as Richmond and Baltimore, the change is most apparent; and it is being felt in every southern city. Wherever the negro has lost ground industrially in the South it is not because there is prejudice against him as a skilled labourer on the part of the native southern white man; the southern white man generally prefers to do business with the negro mechanic rather than with a white man, because he is accustomed to do business with the negro in this respect." Mr. Washington lays much stress on improvidence as a factor in the misfortunes of his people. In fact, their innate attitude of disregard for the future, for "the rainy day," is recognised by all as a most serious handicap to advancement. Indebtedness is everywhere, more or less, a normal state, and the crop-mortgage system, so blighting in its influence, is prevalent throughout the agricultural sections. What is not swallowed up by these agencies is too often wasted on personal adornment, amusement, and contributions to overpretentious religious and social organisations. Notwithstanding these adverse general tendencies, there is still evidence, of large dimensions in the aggregate, of steady industrial progress on the part of a small minority. This is seen not only in agriculture and the trades, but, to a considerable extent, in various business undertakings, and to some degree in

the professions and the civil service. In agriculture, which provides for over three-fourths of the negro population, the last census (1900) shows that of 746,715 farms operated by negroes, representing about 41 per cent. of the total negro homes, 21 per cent., or, say, 8 per cent. of the total homes, were owned by negroes. The average area of these farms was 51·2 acres, as against 160·3 acres for the farms of white owners. Their aggregate value was over £30,000,000, or, say, £134 per farm, as compared with £804 for the whites. If we consider for each race the per capita value of the farm property owned by its members, we find that for the negroes it was £11, whereas for the whites it was £60. The annual products of farms owned by negroes amounted to about £10,000,000. For all farms operated by them the annual products amounted to about £50,000,000, although it should be noted that, in view of the tenant system so prevalent throughout the black belt, many operators are in reality little more than farm labourers. Nevertheless there is encouragement in the fact that the landowner class, although small, is rapidly increasing, the last census showing that, for the decade ending 1900, the number of owners had increased by over 50 per cent. When we turn to gainful occupations other than farming, the position is less satisfactory, the great majority being engaged in common labour and various forms of service, and showing little tendency to advancement. A small minority, however, present a very creditable record. Those classed as teachers and college professors, representing 0·5 per cent. of the total negro workers, showed an increase of about 41 per cent. during the last decade, as compared with an increase of 18 per cent. in the general negro population. Clergymen, representing a somewhat smaller percentage of the breadwinners, increased by about 28 per cent. during the same period. Only about 7 per cent. of the total workers were engaged in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, and their standard was undoubtedly considerably below that of the whites. In mining and quarrying, which gave employment to about 0·9 per cent., the number employed increased by about 90 per cent. This, however, was largely due to the expansion of phosphate and other open pit mining, and is not to be taken as reflecting the capacity or interest of the race in skilled mining as usually understood. Carpenters and joiners showed an actual decrease. Tobacco and cigar factory operatives increased by 2·3 per cent., as against an increase of 21·1 per cent. for the whites. As brick and stone masons the negroes gained rapidly, increasing by 47·4 per cent.

as compared with a decrease of 3·2 per cent. for white masons. In iron and steel works negro operatives increased by 87·4 per cent., while white operatives increased by 29·8 per cent. The gain was largely due to expansion in the Southern States, and there is some uncertainty as to whether it will be maintained, the present tendency being to displace negroes with more highly-paid whites. As engineers and firemen the negroes also showed a comparative gain over the whites, although but slight and of doubtful significance in view of the nature of the positions filled. In blacksmithing the negroes lost ground, decreasing by about 8 per cent. as compared with a gain by the whites of about 9 per cent. Generally speaking, the gains of the race in the direction of skilled and semi-skilled labour seem to have been in those occupations calling for least initiative. It is to be noted that the percentages just referred to are somewhat misleading in that for a given occupation the positions reported as filled by negroes are comparatively of less importance and greater instability than for the whites. Also that, for the negroes, the percentage engaged as breadwinners (breadwinner being defined as a person of either sex, 10 years old or over, who may have been directly engaged in gainful labour during any part of the census year) is not only larger than for the whites (62·2 per cent. : 48·6 per cent.), but is unduly increasing, and includes relatively more children and mature females. Finally, on this subject, we may say that, taking the industrial position of the negroes as a whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that progress is still very much handicapped by inherited characteristics. It is true that in agriculture and amongst the superior classes there has been considerable advancement and a creditable accumulation of wealth. But, as against this advancement of a small minority, we have to recognise in the masses retroactive tendencies of possibly overwhelming force; and, as against the evidence of increasing wealth, we have to recall that such evidence is by no means an exact measure of race progress, since, to a large extent, it is due to natural advancement in the value of property acquired more or less haphazardly at the close of the war when prices were very low. We have also to recall that the older generation of ex-slaves exerted an important influence on the question of wealth, as well as on the general stability of the race, for amongst them were many better-class negroes, who, as a result of their previous training, were able to bring to bear, at least during their own generation, habits of thrift which there is reason to fear may not persist in their children. The conclusion of Tillinghast is that "Economic freedom has not developed a sense of re-

sponsibility and a persistent ambition to rise, as many hoped to see. As a race the negroes are still wanting in energy, purpose and stability; they are giving way before the able competition of whites in the skilled and better paid occupations; and they fail to husband resources so as to establish economic safety."

Possibly, the experience of a negro community under what would seem to have been exceptionally favourable circumstances may be of interest in this connection. In 1849 a colony was started by an English clergyman in Ontario. A large tract of fertile land was set aside by the Canadian Government for the use of fugitive slaves who had been assisted to escape from the Southern States by the "underground railroad." These people were presumably of exceptional calibre, otherwise they would not have had the incentive or hardihood to face such an experience. Furthermore, they were to enjoy the advantages of an environment which offered much of sympathy and encouragement. The land was sold to them at a low price in farms of from 40 to 100 acres, and unlimited time was given for payment. At one time 1,200 negroes were settled in this colony. A certain degree of financial assistance was given, and, aside from the opportunities of agriculture, it was possible to make money by cutting the fine timber which stood on portions of the land. The colony, therefore, started under auspicious circumstances. How has it prospered? Very few of the negroes or their descendants now remain on the farms, and, with one exception, those who remain are tenants. The others mortgaged their lands and even standing crops, squandered the proceeds, and in many cases abandoned the ground rather than take the trouble to till it. They proved incapable of steady work, and were without foresight, their power of provision being limited, apparently, to but a day or a week. When oil was discovered on their lands they sold their rights at once for trivial sums rather than wait for the development of this subterranean wealth. Surely this is a discouraging record.

In the matter of social and religious progress the history of the negroes since slavery has been even more disappointing than in industrial affairs. It emphasises the impossibility of altering by legislation alone the more intimate relations of life. Especially is this true with regard to social relations, for we find that, notwithstanding the statutory guarantee of equality, and the kindly disposition of the white race generally, there has been an increasing tendency toward racial segregation. This, no doubt, is to some extent due to innate antipathy on the part of the whites, but, even so, it is but the natural outcome of fundamental differences as to temperament,

instincts, and traditions. Under slavery, these differences did not operate so strongly toward dissociation as since, for then the superior position of the whites was tacitly recognised and it was possible to encourage a degree of intimacy and bring to bear social and religious influences of an exemplary as well as of a restraining nature. With the grant of freedom, the situation was radically changed. The negroes were then at liberty to follow their own inclinations. These, too frequently, were at variance with the practices and former teachings of the whites, and, inevitably, each race withdrew more and more to itself, the initiative coming no less from the blacks than from the whites. Thus there has developed a state of social isolation for the negroes. They are of the nation, but separate and apart from the social life of the whites, and, in most respects, less and less subject to their influence. A more stable and mature race, such, for instance, as the Chinese or Japanese, may hold its own under such restrictions, but for the negroes the trial has been a severe one, and the outcome is still a matter of grave concern. If we consider family life we find the sense of fidelity and responsibility but weakly developed. There is still a notable difference to the institution of marriage, disregard of its obligations, and unconcern as to the future of offspring. Illegitimacy is common and rapidly increasing, statistics showing for various communities from 12 to 27 per cent. of the younger generation with but a vague idea as to parentage. One writer ironically remarks that his figures are probably an underestimate in view of a tendency in some instances to conceal the fact. Under such circumstances there can be but an imperfect conception of family responsibilities, and it is not surprising that all writers note the absence of family affection and sustained, well-directed, parental training of children. All this, no doubt, is largely due to the comparatively short experience of the race with monogamic family life, and to the sudden removal of the restraints to which they were subjected under slavery. In other words, they are not yet sufficiently advanced in the scale of civilisation to be equal to the exercise of voluntary self-restraint. But, no matter how we explain it, the fact remains; and it is of vital significance to the race. Its consequences are shown in part by the rapid increase of crime. For the decade ended 1890 the increase of negro prisoners was in the Southern States 29 per cent. greater than the increase in negro population, and in the Northern States 39 per cent. greater. (Corresponding figures for the last census—1900—are not available.) A discouraging feature in this connection is the indifferent and even sympathetic attitude of the masses toward crime.

In their religious life we find evidence of the survival of the race's natural tendency to communal rather than family life. The negro church is essentially a social centre. As Professor Du Bois, a leader of the race, says: "The social life of the negro centres in his church—baptism, weddings and burial, gossip and courtship, friendship and intrigue—all lie within its walls." It reflects to a marked degree the preference of the race for the intercourse and recreations of the group rather than those of the family. Du Bois suggests that home life was destroyed by slavery, has struggled up since emancipation, and now is not so much threatened as neglected. But Tillinghast is probably nearer right when he asks, "How could slavery destroy a home life that had never existed for the race?" and further observes that, "It is not the negro home that has struggled up since emancipation, but the ancient racial habit of gregarious communal life, and this is growing to-day at the expense of private home life." Another notable feature of negro religious life is the failure to adapt moral conduct to religious professions. This, however, does not necessarily imply hypocrisy, but rather the survival of ancestral habits of thought which fail to identify conduct with religion. To the negro mind religion means abandonment to the emotions and a varying degree of mental exaltation. A description of a characteristic church service is as follows: "The preacher speaks very quietly for a few minutes, but gradually drifts into a vivid description of various thrilling Biblical scenes, such as Daniel in the lion's den, or Shadrack, Meschach and Abednego in the fiery furnace, and reaches a climax in seeing the pearly gates of the New Jerusalem. He moves rapidly from one side of the platform to the other, goes through various facial contortions, perspires freely, 'hollers,' and when the whole audience is swaying, moaning, surging and shouting under intense excitement, he suddenly drops his voice for a sentence and sits down exhausted." Certainly there is much of analogy as between this description and a typical African religious dance. It is hardly necessary to say that these remarks are intended to apply only to the great mass of the negroes and do not reflect the religious state of the comparatively few who have risen to a position of distinct superiority. But, as Professor Straton has said, "We must not confuse the rapid development of exceptional individuals, with the evolution of the race. Picked individuals, strengthened often in mental vigour by infusions of white blood, may grow rapidly; but the evolution of the race comes slowly—a part of each new element of strength being transmitted to succeeding generations.

It is not a matter of decades but of centuries. The negro race as a whole, however, may go forward higher yet in outward forms, but still deep down beneath may lie the tendencies which give colour to the fear that they are a decaying people."

In the matter of negro education it must be admitted that the American system was in the first instance founded on error. The error, however, extended to the whites as well, for, at the time of emancipation, the idea that education, especially for a primitive people, should involve hand and heart as well as mind was not generally accepted. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the first efforts toward negro education proved abortive. The consequent disappointment was due largely to the failure of those in authority, chiefly Northern idealists, to recognise the fundamental inferiority of the negro. With the best of intentions, educators worked on the assumption that all the black man required was the white man's opportunities. Their aim, therefore, was to supply these opportunities, and the fact that the great mass of the negroes could not assimilate with advantage the instruction offered was overlooked. The counteracting influence of an unfavourable home and industrial environment, which became more accentuated with the removal of the restraints imposed by slavery, was also overlooked. Consequently, the results were very unsatisfactory. There was at first marked evidence of interest, but, as soon as the novelty of a new situation had lost its charm, there was general indifference and a disposition to return to the old life.

In this connection, and as calculated to prevent premature conclusions as to the significance of the present educational activity amongst South African natives, the following remarks by Booker Washington are of interest:—"Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for an education. As I have stated, it was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn. As fast as any kind of teachers could be secured, not only were day schools filled, but night schools as well. The great ambition of the older people was to try to learn to read the Bible before they died. With this end in view, men and women who were fifty or seventy-five years old would often be found in the night school." Again, "In every part of the South, during the Reconstruction period, schools, both day and night, were filled to overflowing with people of all ages and conditions, some being as far along in age as sixty and seventy years. The ambition to secure an education was most praiseworthy and

encouraging. The idea, however, was too prevalent that, as soon as one secured a little education, in some unexplainable way he would be free from most of the hardships of the world, and, at any rate, could live without manual labour. There was a further feeling that a knowledge, however little, of the Greek and Latin languages would make one a very superior human being, something bordering almost on the supernatural."

Gradually, however, a better conception of education obtained, and the importance of instilling new habits and ideas along with intellectual culture was more clearly recognised. This conception was first developed at Hampton Institute, and subsequently at Tuskegee and other schools less generally known. It may briefly be described in the words of Dr. Frissell, the present principal of Hampton, who says of his school: "The Hampton School has its workshops as well as its school-rooms, its farms and sawmills as well as its church. It is really an industrial village where a thousand young people are being trained in life's industries. Commencing in the kindergarten, the children are instructed in the use of the wash-tub and the ironing table, the hoe and the rake, as well as in music and reading. The work habit—love for the labour of the hand is created and cultivated throughout the whole course. Every boy is taught agriculture, work in wood, iron and tin, as well as history, geography, mathematics and other subjects." The results of such a policy are shown by the thousands of graduates who have returned to their people and are endeavouring to stay the downward tendency of the masses. Whether or not their accumulating influence will ultimately be of sufficient force to reverse the general tendency is still an open question. It is by no means certain that because a few schools of this type have accomplished excellent results with comparatively few pupils, similar results could be achieved for the race generally by merely multiplying the institutions. The problem is not so simple. We have to recall that so far students have not been representative. In their selection the most rigid principles of exclusion have been exercised, as is shown by the following requirements of Hampton:—

"SOUND HEALTH, testimonials of GOOD CHARACTER, and intention to remain through the course, are required of all applicants. Candidates for admission coming from common schools or from other institutions, must present letters of honourable dismissal and of recommendation. . . .

Able-bodied, capable young men of good character are encouraged to apply for admission on the following terms:—

1. To work steadily all day for at least an entire year from the time of entering, and attend night school for two hours five nights a week.

NOTE.—*No one need apply who is not well and strong and capable of doing a man's or woman's work. None under seventeen years need apply.* . . .

3. The first three months are probationary. . . .

The utmost economy is expected from the students, in order that they may accumulate money for their expenses in the day school."

This certainly is a searching test, one that can be met by but a relatively insignificant minority of the coloured youth. Furthermore, we must not forget that the great majority of this small minority are mulattoes. On these men, however, hangs the fate of the negro in America. If they can remain faithful to the high standard to which they have aspired, gradually growing in numbers and force and bringing to bear their influence on the masses so as to provide a small measure at least of the training which has meant so much for them, the present tendency to general reversion may be retarded and possibly corrected. But the task is a stupendous one. It is not merely a question of teachers and schools, although the difficulties in these directions are so far insurmountable. They have to deal with the inherent incapacity of their people, and, even with ample teachers and schools and compulsory attendance of children, it is by no means certain that they will be able to overcome this retroactive factor.

Finally, we have to consider the influence on the American negro of political equality. This right was conferred soon after the war, partly in response to misguided Northern sentiment, and partly because those in authority felt that it offered the best means of securing him the freedom which had been granted. That he was ill-fitted to exercise the right is now patent to all. That a system involving political, as well as industrial, apprenticeship would, at least ideally and under more settled conditions, have been better suited to his limited capacity may also be admitted. Under the circumstances then prevailing, however, and especially in view of the disturbed state of white society at the time, it is difficult to see how any other course could have been adopted. Its adoption, of course, has meant much of serious significance to both races. To the Southern whites, it has meant all the trials and hardships arising out of the political dominance of the negro which followed the war, not the least of which was the necessity, which became more and more apparent, of overcoming this dominance once the protection of Northern troops was withdrawn. This was effected, first by arbitrary

and not unquestionable means, and subsequently by State franchise qualification laws which, without undue hardship on either race, have resulted in the elimination of a large percentage of the coloured vote in consequence of its inability to meet the tests imposed. To the great mass of the negroes, the grant of political equality has so far proved at best a questionable benefit. Lacking in experience of free government, and without that individual political capacity so essential to its success, they were not only unable to grasp its true significance, but, because of their inherent deficiency in foresight and self-command, were deplorably unfitted to withstand incidental temptations to abuse its privileges. To them there was but one political issue at the close of the war—unrestrained freedom. Rightly or wrongly, they conceived that this was still endangered, and therefore ranged themselves on the side of the political party which had been instrumental in bringing it about. Too frequently, their first political lessons were learned from Northern adventurers or local political demagogues, whose interests were in the main selfish and whose example was calculated to debase rather than elevate. This first experience was most unfavourable, and its adverse influence has undoubtedly been far-reaching, although, naturally, opinion will differ as to the extent to which it has operated. In considering this circumstance, however, we should not lose sight of the fact that, apart from its direct bearing, we have also to recognise the indirect bearing of the serious accompanying consequences which arose through alienation of the sympathy of the better-class Southern whites. These were the people best fitted to politically guide the race at so critical a period, and, although at the time and under the circumstances it no doubt would have seemed a counsel of perfection to suggest their whole-hearted co-operation, still, to us of to-day, it appears that, on the whole, the negroes would have been much better off if left in large measure to the guidance of their former masters, aided in so far as possible by friendly financial assistance from the North. This was not to be, however, and so we find the white Southerners soon after the war in open hostility to the negroes, endeavouring by every means, fair or unfair, to overcome the political supremacy of those who but recently had been their slaves, and who, because of fundamental unfitness and ill-chosen leadership, were now indulging in insufferable excesses and shameless distortions of government. First by intimidation and fraudulent manipulation of the ballot, and later by the aid of State enactments restricting the suffrage of both whites and blacks to those able to meet certain educational and property tests, the appli-

cation of which is mainly in the hands of the whites, the negro voter has been largely deprived of his political rights where opposed to the general welfare, and is now no longer an element of danger. Doubtless this policy is an evasion of the original spirit of the constitutional guarantee of equality, and admittedly it is ethically objectionable, but we have to interpret it in the light of practical politics, and to regard it as one of those unavoidable compromises which have throughout history had to be made in the pursuit of the ideal. From this standpoint, and also because it is hoped that any accompanying hardships on the negro may be but temporary and on the whole for his good, the attitude of the Northern States is at least tolerant, and, despite the phrasing of political platforms, it is improbable that any unpleasantness will result. Furthermore, this solution has been accepted by many of the more enlightened negroes, and there is a growing disposition on the part of the leaders of the race to regard the free exercise of the franchise as a sequence rather than an antecedent to educational and, especially, industrial proficiency. Booker Washington, in a recent address to the National Negro Business League, when emphasising the importance of an industrial and pacific spirit, rather than the political and assertive spirit of that branch of negro opinion headed by Du Bois, said: "The more I study our conditions and needs the more I am convinced that there is no safer road by which we can reach civic, as well as moral, educational and religious development, than by laying the foundation in the ownership and cultivation of the soil, the saving of money, commercial growth, and the skilful and conscientious performance of any duty with which we are entrusted." It would therefore seem that the question of the negro's fitness for full participation in the politics of his country should be regarded as dependent on and, in so far as possible, consequent to the development of capacity in industrial and social affairs. We have seen that in America the outlook in these directions is at best indeterminate for the great mass of the race, and, accordingly, we must conclude that there is little reason for anticipating for the negroes an early exercise of political influence corresponding to their numerical strength.

In the foregoing remarks the aim has been to touch briefly on the main factors in connection with the negro's experience in America, limiting the discussion more particularly to considerations open to South African application. With regard to the future of the negro in America, therefore, it is necessary to make but a few concluding observations. Generally speaking, the outlook for the great mass seems distinctly discouraging. There

is much evidence pointing to gradual reversion, and reversion, under the circumstances, would ultimately mean extinction. This, of course, does not apply to that comparatively small minority of notable and admirable men who are making a most creditable showing. This class is bound to increase in numbers and influence, and it is in these men, assisted by a favourable environment, as well as by the example and stimulating competition of the whites, that we must repose such hope as we may be able to command for the welfare of the great majority. Through them educational opportunities, based on the principles previously discussed, are being extended. Social influences of a helpful character are also being brought to bear with increasing effect. And, what is perhaps of even more significance, industrial life, especially in the direction of agriculture, is being stimulated and expanded. Another favourable influence is the growth of the temperance movement in the Southern States. Starting with Local Option Laws, public opinion, both white and black, has developed under the stimulus of periodical discussion until now three States are effectively exercising total prohibition of the liquor traffic, and others are rapidly advancing to similar action. This undoubtedly means much for the negroes. How much is suggested, although, of course, not finally demonstrated, by the fact that in certain cities of large negro population the number of arrests has been reduced from one-third to one-half after only a few months' operation under the law. The question that has to be faced, however, is whether, with all assistance that the circumstances will permit, it is possible to stay the retrograde tendency manifest in the race as a whole. This question is not entirely one of the helping hand. No doubt the absence of aid and opportunity means much to thousands, but it does not follow that, because a comparatively small number of exceptional individuals has responded to these advantages, the millions of the masses will do so likewise. In considering these we have always to keep in mind the forces of hereditary instinct, and the evidence, which in this paper has been but briefly submitted, as to the inherent disposition of the race to resist progress. We have also to keep in mind the growth of immorality, loose and irresponsible family relations, intemperance and criminality, factors whose unfavourable influence is being greatly accentuated by a rapidly developing preference for urban life. These tendencies are inimical to survival, especially in the midst of an aggressive white population; in fact, their adverse bearing is already reflected in the race's disproportionate rate of increase, the census returns indicating that the death-rate of negroes is about double what it

is for white, and that in the Southern States the decline in the proportion of children to women of child-bearing age, has, during the past twenty years, been about twice as great for negroes as for whites. It is, therefore, difficult to avoid the feeling that in America at least the outlook for the negro is at best precarious.

When we come to consider the native in South Africa, we are at once faced with the question whether there are grounds for taking a more hopeful view of his ultimate fate than is permissible in America. On this question, of course, opinions will differ. For the furtherance of discussion, however, I submit that, in the main, the natural inheritance of the black man in Africa is not materially different from what it is in America, and that, therefore, we may reject all humanitarian influences that may be brought to bear as of secondary importance, and say that his vigorous survival is primarily dependent upon the degree of white competition he may have to encounter. That even under the most aggressive competition some should survive, and that these, as in America, would in the aggregate total many thousands, also that retrogression of the masses would be gradual and accompanied by much blending of colour, goes without saying. But, for the natives as a race, it would seem that normal survival is chiefly dependent on restricted competition, and this in turn is dependent on the commercial significance of the country's natural resources, more especially in the direction of agriculture. So long as the country itself is unable to compete effectively with other countries for the favour of the emigrant, the Kaffir will probably survive and progress, although after an inferior fashion and with a continuance of his retroactive influence on the white population. On the other hand, should the country's resources prove of such importance as to rapidly attract an immigrant population of good type, then it is probable that the cumulative influence of the whites would gradually overwhelm the native race and lead ultimately to its elimination except as to the more capable and those who might find sanctuary in some place set apart.

Obviously these conclusions are somewhat academical and leave untouched many practical and less remote questions which have to be dealt with. To go further, however, would open up the racial and economic problems of South Africa in all their complications and involve discussion which may well be left to abler hands. The paper, therefore, is submitted merely for its suggestive value.

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